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AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF ION

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# HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

## IONA,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD.

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BY L. MACLEAN,

Author of "ADAM AND EVE," or the Celtic proved to be the Primitive  
Language, together with the Genealogy of the Gael, &c.

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"Mar ghath soluis do m' anam féin  
Tha sgéula na h-aimsir a dh' fhalbh."—*Ossian*.

"Iona has long demanded a volume—a book of its own."—*M<sup>r</sup> Calloch*.

THIRD EDITION, REVISED.

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TO

JAMES SMITH, Esq.

OF JORDAN HILL,

PRESES OF THE ANDERSONIAN INSTITUTION OF GLASGOW, &c.

SIR,

IN dedicating the subsequent compilation of historical facts to you, nothing is farther from my design than flattery. For twenty years past your public character has been to me a subject of secret admiration—a model of excellence, in my judgment, worthy of all imitation.

The liberality of your education has thrown open to you the policy-walks and gardens of Nature, and Nature, pleased to see her green walks trodden, created an appetite to partake of her abundant stores.

Knowledge, like fire, has a spreading quality—it cannot be inactive and live : your knowledge found abundance of kindred matter in the mechanics of your native city, over whom you have presided so many years with credit to yourself and benefit to them—fanning and feeding the kindling genius—cherishing and nourishing the budding sapling.

I have another reason, however, for sending this little work out under your protection, namely, your hearty attachment to the interesting island Iona, upon which it treats,—your entertaining, in a comparatively apathetical age, a lively sense of the obligation under which Great Britain lies to that small island.

That your sun may long soar in wonted majesty, to illumine still and cheer with mild beams the pleased satellites, is the sincere prayer of,

SIR,

Your humble Admirer,

THE AUTHOR.

GLASGOW, *July*, 1838.

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## ERRATA.

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Page 103, line 13, *for* Aithair *read* Athair.

———— last line, *for* Atir *read* Air.

# HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

## I O N A .

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### CHAPTER I.

#### INTRODUCTION—DEFINITIONS, &c.

THE title of IONA to fame will be disputed by no one. Let us hear what two well known scholars have to say on the subject of this interesting spot. Their testimony is the offspring of much reading, and an acquaintance with the early history of nations. But all men have not this knowledge at hand, nor the power to arrive at it: to put it, therefore, within their reach, is certainly a desideratum. The traveller who, perhaps, from far, visits Iona without a previous knowledge of its history, I pity. We can easily imagine a difference between the feelings of one who would visit the field of Bannockburn with a knowledge of its story, and of one who, losing his way, would stumble upon it by chance, and quit it without knowing what ground he had been treading.

The learned Dr Samuel Johnson thus expresses himself:—"We are now treading that illustrious

island which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge, and the blessings of religion. To abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible, if it were endeavoured, and would be foolish, if it were possible. Whatever draws us from the power of our senses; whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me and from my friends be such frigid philosophy as may conduct us indifferent and unmoved over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery, or virtue. That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of *Iona*."

—*Journey to the Western Isles.*

Dr MacCulloch, a more recent traveller, is not less enthusiastic. "It is not easy to wander among these remains, uninfluenced by the recollections they are calculated to excite. He who can here abstract himself from the living objects round him, and abandon his mind to the visions of the *past*, will long after recur, with feelings of pleasing melancholy, to the few hours which he has spent among the tombs of *Iona*."

"It is the antiquarian and moral history of *Iona* which constitute its great interest. Pennant



and Cordiner have been the historians; and how imperfectly they have performed their tasks, I need not say. It is not very creditable to those who might have done it long since, that Iona—the day-spring of savage Caledonia—should so long have remained an object for wandering tourists to tell of; unhonoured, undescribed by those who owe to it the deep debt of civilization, of letters, and of religion; untold by an Æbudean—untold even by a Highland pen. Iona has long demanded a volume—a book of its own.”—*Highl. & Isl. of Scotl.* vol. iv. p. 147.

## IONA.

IONA is known to the native Highlander by four names:

1. *Innis-nan-Druidhneach*—The Isle of the Druids.
2. *Ii*—The Island, by way of eminence.
3. *Ii-Cholum-chille*—The Isle of Colum of the cell or cemetery. *Cill*—the “cell,” and “Kil” of perverters of Gaelic, signifies a cemetery or burying-ground. *Ii*, in process of time, had gained so much celebrity as a cell, or burying-place, that by and by it began to be known by that name alone; but after the saint had been translated and canonized, this *Cill* was, very naturally, called after him, nay, on every occasion, superinduced to his name: thus—*Columcille*. The

Gaelic scholar knows that a noun governed by a noun generally assumes the aspirated form; and also, that two or more nouns in apposition must agree in case;—thus, *Ii-cholum-chille*.

4. *Ii-shona*, pronounced ee-hona, the sibilant being silent before the aspirate. *Ii-shona*—the blessed, or sacred isle.\* *Insula sancta*, seu *Divi Columbi*,† &c.

Some, even of our Celtic clergy, have etymologised Iona, “*I-thonna*”—the island of the waves; but this is not the worst specimen of the effects of these clergy not being bound to study their vernacular language before license. There is no reason why *it* should in pre-eminence deserve the appellation of the island of the waves, its neighbour, *Staffa*, and even *Tir-Ii* being *more* the sport of the Atlantic.

It were rather a wonder had superstition allowed Iona to pass *without* some epithet, such as *blessed*, or *holy*: we know that Lindisfern, although but the child of Iona, is, to this day, called *Eilean naomh*—the holy island. In course of the following pages, I shall, however, rest contented with “Iona,” as being now the fashionable, and always a euphonious name.

\* *Blessed* art thou, O land—is *sona* thu a thir, Eccl. 10, 17. *Shona* is the aspirated form.

† *Rerum Orcadens. Hist.* p. 153, et “*Beannachadh Ii-cholum-chille*,—“*Innis tha beannuichte cheana*.”

## CHAPTER II.

## DESCRIPTION—INSCRIPTIONS, &amp;c.

“THE sequestered Island of Iona,” says a *fair* writer, is interesting to a picturesque eye, from its isolated situation, its panoramic views of the green isles of Tiree, Coll, the Tresnish Isles, and, above all, of that wonderful work of nature, the Basaltic-caved Staffa: here that sun, which rises and sets to all the world, sinks into the ‘western wave’ with peculiar beauty.” Iona is about three miles in length, and one and a half in breadth. Its eastern coast is separated from the south-west of Mull, by a narrow sound of probably about half a mile. The surface of the island is low, rising into numerous irregular elevations, which seldom exceed 100 feet: its highest hill may be about 400. The population is from 450 to 500 souls. Iona has been described by so many that I feel at a loss which account to copy. The reader will, perhaps, justify me in giving the preference to *Dean Munro* and to *Pennant*, when I inform him that the one gives the most *ancient*, and the other the most *copious* account of any I have been able to meet with.

Dean Munro, who wrote from actual inspection in the year 1549, says of Iona,—

“ Within this isle there is a monastery of mounckes, and ane other of nuns, with a paroche kirke, and sundrie uther chapells, dotat of auld by the kings of Scotland, and by Clandonald of the Iyles.

“ This abbay foresaid was the cathedrall kirk of the bishops of the Iyles, sen the tyme they were expulsed out of the Isle of Man.

“ Within this Isle of Kilmkill there is ane sanctuary also, or Kirkzaird, callit in Erishe, (Irish, Johnson’s “ Erse,”) *Relig Orain*, quhilk is a very fair kirkzaird, and weill biggit about with staine and lyme. Into this sanctuary, there are three tombes of staine, formit like little chapels, with ane braide grey marble or quhin staine in the gavill of ilk ane of the tombes. In the staine of the ane tombe there is written in Latin letters, *TUMULUS REGUM SCOTIÆ*, that is, the tombe ore grave of the Scottes Kings: within this tombe, according to our Scottes and Erishee cronikles, ther laye *Fortey-eight crowned Scotts Kings*, through the quhilk this ile hes been richlie dotat be the Scotts Kinges, as we have said. The tombe on the south side forsaid hes this inscription, *TUMULUS REGUM HIBERNIÆ*; that is, the tombe of the Irland Kinges: for we have in our auld Erische cronikells that ther were *four Irland*

*Kings* erdit in the said tombe. Upon the north syde of our Scottes tombe, the inscription bears, TUMULUS REGUM NORWEGIÆ, that is, the tombe of the Kinges of Norroway, and als' we find in our Erische cronikells, that Cœlus King of Norroway commandit his nobils to take his bodey and burey it in Colmkill, if it chancit him to die in the iles, bot he was so discomfitit that ther remained not so many of his armey as wald burey him ther; therefor he was eirded in Kyles, after he stroke ane field against the Scotts, and was vanquisht be them.

“ Within this sanctuary also lye the maist pairt of the Lords of the Iles, with their lynage. Twa clan Leans, with ther lynage. M'Kynnon and M'Quarie, with ther lynage, with sundrie other inhabitants of the haill iles, because this sanctuary was wont to be the sepulture of the best men of all the iles, and als' of our kinges, as we have said.”

Mr Pennant, who wrote in the year 1769, forms here a very interesting continuation of the worthy Dean's description:—

“ Visit every place in the order that they lay from the village. The first was the ruin of the nunnery, filled with canonesses of St Augustine; and consecrated to St Oran. The church was 58 feet by 20: the roof of the east end is entire, is a pretty vault made of very thin stones, bound

together by four ribs, meeting in the centre. Here we saw the tomb of the last prioress; her figure is cut on the face of the stone; an angel on each side supports her head, and above them is a little plate and a comb. The prioress occupies only one-half of the surface; the other is filled with the form of the Virgin Mary, with head crowned and mitered; the child in her arms; and, to denote the *Queen of Heaven*, a sun and moon appear above. At her feet is this address from the prioress: *Sancta MARIA, ora pro me.* And round the lady is inscribed—*Hic jacet Domina Anna Donaldi Terleti filia quondam Priorissa de IONA, quæ obiit ano. m<sup>o</sup> d<sup>o</sup> xi<sup>mo</sup>; ejus animam Altissimo commendamus.* (Here lies the lady Anne, daughter of Donald M'Tearlach, formerly Prioress of Iona, who died in 1511, &c., whose soul we recommend to the Most High.)

“Mr Stuart, who sometime past visited this place, informed me, that at that time he observed this fragment of another inscription, *Hic jacet Mariota filia Johan: Lauchlini Domini de \* \* \* \** [Coll].

“Besides this place of sepulture, was another on the outside, allotted for the nuns; where, at a respectable distance from the virtuous recluses, lies in solitude, a frail sister.

“Advance from hence along a broad paved

way, which is continued in a line from the nunnery to the *cathedral*; another branches from it to the *Bay of Martyrs*; and a third, narrower than the others, points towards the hills.

“ On this road is a large and elegant cross, called that of *Maclean*, one of 360 that were standing in this island at the reformation,\* but immediately after were almost entirely demolished, by order of a provincial assembly, held in the island.

“ Arrive at *Reilig Orain*, a vast enclosure; the great place of interment for the number of monarchs who were deposited here; and for the potentates of every isle, and their lineage; for all were ambitious of lying in this *holy* spot. The place is in a manner filled with grave-stones.

“ I was very desirous of viewing the tombs of the kings, described by the DEAN of the isles, and from him by *Buchanan*: the former says, that in his time there were three, built in form of little chapels. (Here follows what I have already quoted in the Dean’s own words.) But of these celebrated tombs, we could discover nothing more than certain slight remains, that were built in a ridged form, and arched within; but the inscriptions were lost. These are called *Iomaire nan Rìgh*, or, the Ridge of the Kings. Among

\* Short Descr. of Iona, 1693.—M.S. Adv. Library.



these stones were found two stones, with Gaelic inscriptions, and the form of a cross carved on each: the words on one were, *cross Domhail fatasich*, i. e. the cross of Donald longshanks: the other signified the cross of *Urchvine o'Guin*. The letters were those of the most ancient *Irish* alphabet.\* Among the same stones is also the following: *Hic jacent quatuor Priores de—ex una natione V. : Johannes, Hugonius, Patricius :*

\* The first of these two inscriptions, for which Mr Pen-  
nant was indebted to Mr Stuart, is certainly wrong given  
here. From an accurate drawing, made by James Logan,  
Esq., whose skill and fidelity in these matters are well  
known, it appears, that what is now legible, is but a frag-  
ment of a much larger inscription, in the old Gaelic char-  
acter, and ran thus:—"OÑ DOMAIL FATA," &c. Without  
entering into any minute detail on the subject, it may  
suffice to observe, that there exist strong grounds for be-  
lieving, that this is the fragment of the tombstone placed  
over Alexander Macdonald, the second of the Glengary  
line, who died *by violence*, and was certainly buried in  
*Reilig Orain*, the family burying-place, in 1461. No one  
of the inscriptions at Iona has been so much written of as  
that under consideration. One reverend and learned gen-  
tleman (Stat. Acc. Vol. X. p. 533), presuming, from er-  
roneous information, that the inscription was *entire*, and  
in *Latin* in place of *Gaelic*, reads it thus: "Mac-Donuill  
*fato hic*;" and then remarks, "as much as to say, that  
*fate* alone could lay Macdonald here."—But enough of  
this. Of the accuracy of the second inscription, also  
furnished by Mr Stuart, we have at present no means of  
judging.



in decretis olim Bacularius alter *Hugonius* qui obiit an. Dom. miles<sup>mo</sup> quingentessimo.\*

“ Mr Frazier, son to the Dean of the isles, informed Mr Sacheverel, governor of the Isle of Man, who visited Iona in 1688, that his father had collected 300 inscriptions, and presented them to the Earl of Argyle; which were afterwards lost in the troubles of that family.

“ The chapel of *St Oran* stands in this space, which legend reports to have been the first building attempted by St Columba.

“ In Oran’s chapel are several tombs, and near it many more: within, beneath a recess, formed with three neat pointed arches, is a tombstone, with a ship and several ornaments. I forget whether the sails were furled: in that case the deceased was descended from the ancient kings of Man, of the Norwegian race, who used those arms.

\* Mr Pennant remarks, that he is indebted for this inscription to Mr Stuart, and adds, in a note, that part of the inscription was *corrected* by a friend. As printed, it is impossible to make sense of it; but we may conjecture, that originally it stood thus: “ *Hic jacent quatuor Piores de Hy, ex una natione, viz. Johannes, Hugonius, Patricius, in divinit. olim Bacularius, et alter Hugonius qui obiit an. Dom. 1500:*” That is, “ *Here lie four Priors of Iona, all of one clan, viz., John, Eugene, Patrick, who was formerly Bachelor of Divinity, and a second Eugene, who died in 1500.*”

“ Near the south end is the tomb\* of Abbot Mackinnon and his father, inscribed,—*Hæc est crux Lauchlini Mc. Fingon et ejus filii Johannis Abbatis de Hy facta an. dom. m° cccclxxxix.*— (This is the cross of Lachlan Mackinnon and his son John, Abbot of Hy, erected 1489.)

“ Another of Macdonald of Islay and Kintyre, commonly called Innes, or Angus Og, the chief of the name. He was a strong friend to Robert Bruce, and was with him at the battle of Bannockburn. His inscription is,—*Hic jacet corpus Angusii filii Domini Angusii McDomhill de Ilay.* (Here lies the body of Angus, son of Sir Angus M'Donald of Islay.)

“ In another place lies the gravestone of *Ailean nan sop*, a *ceatharnach*, or head of a party, of the name of *Maclean*; from whom is decended the family of *Torloisg*.† The stone is ornamented with carving and a ship.

\* Mr Pennant should have said *Cross*. The *tomb* of Abbot Mackinnon is described at page 14.

† Mr Pennant has been misled here. The family of Maclean of Torloisg, (now represented by Mrs Clephane Maclean of Torloisg,) derives its origin from Lauchlan, second son of that Lauchlan Maclean of Duart, commonly called *Lauchlan Mor*, who distinguished himself so much at the battle of Glenlivet in 1594, and was afterwards killed in Ila by Sir James Macdonald, in 1568. *Ailean nan Sop* was granduncle to the first Maclean of Torloisg, and flourished in the reign of James V.

“ A Maclean of Coll appears in armour, with a sword in his left hand. A Maclean of Duàirt with armour, shield, and two-handed sword. And a third of the same name, of the family of Lochbuy; (Eoghan *a chinn bhig.*) His right hand grasps a pistol, his left a sword.

“ Besides these, are numbers of other ancient heroes, whose very names have perished, and they deprived of their expected glory.

“ About 70 feet south of the chapel is a red unpolished stone; beneath which, lies a nameless king of France. But the memory of the famous old Doctor of Mull has had a better fate, and is preserved in these words: Hic jacet Johannes Betonius Maclenorum *familiae medicus*, qui mortuus est 19 Novemb. 1651, Æt. 63. Donaldus Betonius fecit 1674. (Here lies John Beaton, Physician to the family of the Macleans, who died 19th November, 1651, aged 63; Donald Beaton erected this, 1674.

“ The cathedral lies a little north of this enclosure: it is in the form of a cross. The length from east to west is 115 feet; the breadth 23; the length of the transept 70. Over the centre is a handsome tower, on each side of which is a window, with stone work of different forms in every one. On the south side of the chancel are some Gothic arches, supported by pillars, 9 feet 8 inches high, including the capitals; and 8 feet

9 inches in circumference. The capitals are quite peculiar, carved round with various superstitious figures; among others is an angel weighing souls.

“ The altar was of white marble, veined with grey, and is vulgarly supposed to have reached from side to side of the chancel; but Mr Sacheverel, who saw it when almost entire, assures us, that the size was 6 feet by 4.

“ Near the altar is the tomb of the Abbot M'Kinnon. His figure lies recumbent, with this inscription round the margin: *Hic jacet Johannes Mac Fingone abbas de Hy, qui obiit anno domini Millessimo quingentissimo cujus animæ propitietur DEUS Altissimus Amen.* (i. e. Here lies John Mackinnon, Abbot of Iona, who died in 1500, to whose soul may God be merciful. Amen.)

“ On the other side is the tomb and figure of the Abbot Kenneth. (Kenneth M'Kenzie, of the family of Kintail.) On the floor is the effigy of an armed knight, with a whilk by his side, as if he had just returned from the ‘feast of shells’ in the hall of Fingal. Near the south end is Mary's chapel.

“ The monastery lies behind the cathedral. It is in a most ruinous state. In a corner are some *black stones*, held so sacred, that it was customary to swear by them, (because of Columbus' grave.)

*Boethius* says, that this monastery, was built after the defeat of the Scots, at the battle of Mundi, A. D. 379.

“ North of the monastery are the remains of the Bishop’s house.

“ To the west of the convent is the Abbot’s mount, overlooking the whole. Beneath seem to have been the gardens, once well cultivated; for we are told that the monks transplanted from other places, herbs both esculent and medicinal.

“ Beyond the mount is a square, containing a *cairn*, and surrounded with a stone dike. This is called a burial-place: it must have been in very early times; cotemporary with other *cairns*, perhaps, in the days of *Druidism*. For Bishop Pocock mentions, ‘ that he had seen two stones, 7 feet high, with a third laid across on their tops, an evident *Cromleac*.’ ” &c.—Thus far the amiable and accomplished Mr Pennant.

Mr Lumsden of Glasgow, in his “ Steam-Boat Companion,” a most excellent work, says, “ that within the principal entry to the demesne of Inverary Castle, there is a stone-cross, well deserving the attention of the antiquarian. It was brought from *Iona*, after the reformation, and served for some time as the Town-cross of Inverary. The front and back are covered with hieroglyphics, neatly finished, and in a high state of preservation; while the following inscription,

tastefully executed, *alto relievo*, forms a very appropriate ornament for one of the sides:—Haec : est : crux : nobilium : videlicet : Dondeani : Macgyllehomghna : Patrici : Filii : eius : et : Maelmore : Filii Patrici : Que : hanc : crucem : Fieri : Faciebat:—*i. e.* This is the cross of noblemen, namely, Duncan Macgyllehomghnan, Patrick his son, and Maelmore the son of Patrick, who directed this stone to be made.

*Andrew of Winton* has handed down to us, at least, *one* royal inscription. Writing of King Donald, he says,

“ In Icolmkill there lyes’ he,  
And there thir verses men may see,” viz.

Rex Donenaldus erat in Scotia quatuor annis  
In bello miles strenuus ille fuit  
Regis praidicti frater fuit ille Kenedi,  
Qui Sconae fertur subditus esse neci.

Donald, who reigned over Scotland for four years :  
He was a valiant soldier,  
Brother of the said King Kenneth, who is said to have  
been put to death at Scone.

This description, imperfect as it *must* be, will, I doubt not, stir up serious reflections in some minds.—“ Weep on, O stranger ! for he that is low was brave ; and his soul, like your own, was a stream that flowed when the tale was mournful.” But will sorrow recall the dead ? Will the cries of the living dispel their heavy slumbers ?

No! they still sleep on, they will not hear the sound of the pipe, they will not hear the voice of *Mactalla*. But, traveller! they are only gone a little before thee and me, to the land of rest—a few more fleeting days on the silent swift-gliding stream of time shall pass, and another will occupy thy place and mine.

I cannot, perhaps, conclude this chapter better than by an extract from the Rev. Leigh Richmond's letter to his lady from Iona, in the year 1819. "Iona is delightful! You can form no idea of the characteristics of every thing and every body around me. The novelty, simplicity, and singularity,—the *tout ensemble*, is *indescribable*. Here, amid the ruins of ancient grandeur, piety and literature, surrounded by the graves and mouldering grave-stones of kings, chieftains, lords of the isles, bishops, priests, abbesses, nuns, and friars,—the scene decorated with the fine and romantic remains of cathedral, colleges, nunnery, chapels, and oratories; with views of islands, seas, rocks, mountains, interspersed with the humble huts of these poor islanders! I am just preparing to preach to as many of them as can understand English, in the open air;—a rock my pulpit, and Heaven my sounding-board;—may the echo resound to their hearts."



## CHAPTER III.

HISTORY—THE DRUIDICAL ÆRA—SOME ACCOUNT  
OF THAT ANCIENT RELIGION, &c.

IN giving the History of Iona, from the *earliest period*, one cannot avoid speaking for a little of Druidical times, seeing this interesting sect had a College or School of Theology in it for time immemorial, till expelled by St. Columba: hence the most ancient name of the island—*Innis nan Druineach*—the isle of the Druids.

The term Druid is a corruption of the well-known Celtic word *Druidh*, a magician, conjurer, or philosopher. It is the word used in our Gaelic Bible for the magi, or “wise men,” who came “from the East to Jerusalem,” to worship the holy child Jesus.

The Druids were the priests or clergy of the Celts. Their religion is allowed to have been of the same antiquity with that of the Magi of Persia, Brahmins of India, and Chaldees of Babylon and Assyria.\* These all sprung from the religion of

\* Orig. contr. Cels. 1. 5.—*Dr Smith.*



Noah and of the antediluvians. Wherever the Celtic tribes, who were the posterity of Japhet, migrated, they carried this religion along with them, and in no country has it suffered so little change as in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland,—so little, indeed, that it made Cæsar assert that Druidism had its first rise in Britain.

The peculiar situation of the Highlands of Scotland, together with the high value the inhabitants put upon Liberty, preserved them from being ever subjugated to a foreign yoke. The Roman gods, and Roman eagle, were alike unable to extend their reconnoitre over the mountains of Caledonia. Here, therefore, were raised no altars to their lame idols,—here were offered to them no sacrifices. God had hitherto permitted the scourge; but here, even at the Grampian hills, he remembered his gracious promise to Japhet.† This, then, accounts for the purity—the originality—the orientality of the Celtic character.

The religion of the Druids being derived from Noah, we would expect to find it very simple:—one God, no temple, no image, an altar of either turf or stone, and an offering from the increase of the fold or the flesh. But, alas! the idea of a pure spirit is too elevated for the grovelling mind

\* Gen. ix. 27. Ni Dia Japhet, a mheudachadh.

of fallen man: like Job, “he goes forward and cannot find him, backward and cannot perceive him;” some object, therefore, must be found out to represent Him. The Children of Israel fixed upon a Calf—but the Druids of Iona were more noble: *they* fixed upon the sun, “the soul and eye of this great world,” and very appositely called him *Bea’ uil*, i. e. the source of all life.\*

The sect of the Druids embraced, at fewest, four grades; the *Filea*, or bard—the *Seanachai*, or genealogist—the *Faidh*, or seer—and the *Cobhai*, or Arch-Druid. Of the offices of these severally, their names are a sufficient comment. To the Arch-Druid, as to an oracle, every hard and doubtful case was referred, and from his judgment there was no appeal. The province of

\* Dr Smith’s History of the Druids.—Pythagoras, whose philosophy bore a wonderful resemblance to that of the Druids, is represented expressly to have heard the *Gauls* and *Brachmans*, (see *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Strom.* 41.) Again, Diog. Laert. Ere. Aristotle, Borlase, p. 73, asserts, as an avowed and indisputable truth, that the philosophy of Greece originated with the Celtæ. In my English translation of “Adam and Eve,” I purpose to show, that every dark name in Greek mythology, to a general reader a sound without an idea, is a *Celtic term*. Our very learning has led us into error upon the subject of etymology. It has tempted us to look for the *rudiments* of arts and science at those to whom we are indebted only for *improvements, alterations, and corruptions*.

the bard was to celebrate the praises of heroes, and to immortalize their name in song: with his harp, and “the light of song,” alternately, he excited in the minds of heroes a love for virtue and for glory. He also accompanied the warriors to the field, to inspire them to deeds of fame, and a contempt of death.

“A king, in Druidical times,” says Mr Walker,\* “had a prince of the blood-royal for a companion,—a Brehon,† to consult in all critical cases,—a Druid to direct his conscience,—a chief Physician to superintend his health,—a Seanachai to consult in points of history and chronology,—a Filea, or bard, to rehearse his own praises, and those of his ancestors,—and an Ollamh-re-ceòl, with harp, to soften his pillow.” The Greeks, we find, by comparison, have borrowed a number of their manners from the Celts. The delegates sent by Agamemnon to Achilles found him playing on this instrument.

“Amused, at ease, the god-like man they found,  
Pleas'd with the solemn harp's harmonious sound:—  
With this he soothes his angry soul, and sings  
Th' immortal deeds of heroes and of kings.”—*Pope*.

Eocha, the twenty-fifth king of Scotland, was killed by a *Harper* who lay in his bed-chamber.

\* Walker's Irish Bards.

† *Brehon*, a judge, corrupted *Baron*.

—*Buchanan*. Does this not remind us of the narrative of King Saul, and his *filea*, David? Here I feel almost inclined to digress, and say a word or two for music. My reason is, that some of my countrymen, ignorantly, begin to suppress that noble species of it—the laments and piob-brachds of our hills! I have no doubt this will have the effect of causing the people to degenerate. Music is part of the mould in which the character of the mountaineer is formed. Music, even instrumental music, is countenanced by God, both in heaven and on earth.\* If a man, naturally rough, becomes, *for the time*, softened by music, and these times frequently renewed, habit may take place of nature, and that man's character will, to a certain degree, change. If this is true of any music, much more so of the warlike *piob*: its music forces its way irresistibly to the heart, and there diffuses an ecstatic delight, that thrills through every fibre of the frame, awakens sensibility, and agitates or tranquillizes the soul! I speak from experience. If by admiring and conversing with holiness, one is changed “from glory to glory,” will the same law not hold in other things? Is it not by admiring and taking a liking in evil, and in evil companions,

\* “The four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having *harps*,” &c.—Rev. v. 8.

the half of our city youths are changed from mischief to mischief?

To say that music is incompatible with piety, therefore, is sheer bigotry—sheer *ignorance*.

“ O Love! Religion! Music! all  
That’s left of Eden upon earth!”

The Druids had their high places and groves—their “circle of loda” and “stone of power”—their high feasts, and fiery ordeal.\* The Arch-Druid wore a rod, called *Slatan Druí’eachd* or magic wand, probably in imitation of that of Moses. The whole mystery or science was committed to memory, but never to writing, and it took one about twenty years to finish his course of studies. Their precepts, notwithstanding, were very few and very simple, namely:—*To reverence the Deity, abstain from evil, and behave valiantly.* The Druids believed in the immortality of the soul; but, as we may gather from old poetry, their idea of a future state was much *mistified*. Their heaven was called *Flath-Innis*, the island of the brave;—the common term for heaven to this day in the Gaelic. This *island*, according to the Gaelic description of it, spread before the eye “like a pleasing dream of the soul; where

\* Jacob offered sacrifice *on the mount*, Gen. xxxi. 54. Nor shall ye set up an image of *stone* in your land to bow down unto it, Lev. xxvi. 1.

distance faded not on the sight, and where nearness fatigued not the eye. It had its gently sloping hills of green; nor did it wholly want its clouds: but the clouds were bright and transparent; and each involved in its bosom the source of a stream, which wandering down the steep, was like the faint notes of the half-touched harp to the distant ear. The valleys were open and free to the ocean; trees loaded with leaves, which scarcely waved to the light breeze, were scattered on the green declivities and rising grounds. The rude winds walked not on the mountains; no storm took its course through the sky; all was calm and bright; the pure sun of autumn shone from his blue hall on the fields. He sat in his mid-day height and looked obliquely on this noble *island*. On the rising hill were the halls of the departed—the high-roofed dwellings of heroes.”

The *Ifurin* (I-bhroin), or hell of the Druids which, by the by, is the only word in our Gaelic Bible still for hell, signifies the island *of sorrow*. It was, of course, the reverse of the island of the brave.

The Druids, for some generations, had been at variance with the family of Fingal. In one of the poems ascribed to Ossian (but of which Fergus, the brother of Ossian, is the author), called “Dargo, the son of *Druí Bhéil*,” we have an

account of a terrible conflict.\* The commencement of this sublime poem shows that the Fingalians by this time began to condemn Druidism.

“A sound comes by halves to my ear. It is like the voice of a wave that climbs the distant rock. It is the voice of *Sruthan dorch*a’s stream, murmuring, deep in the vale of oaks. In the bosom of its *grove* is the *circle of stones*. Dim unfinished forms sigh within their grey locks around it. The sons of the feeble hear the sound, and, trembling, shun the awful shadowy spot. The haunt of ghosts, they say, is there.” *Mark* what follows:—“But your voices are no terror to the Bard, spirit of dark night, pale wanderers around your *awful stones*. No; I tried the strength of your arm when alive; I lifted my spear in battle against your mighty Dargo—against the terrible son of Drui Bhéil.”

Here, let me reflect, that Druidical as Ossian’s poems are, they afford a lesson of charity even for *Christians* of the 19th century. Some religious denominations of our day leave no mercy for brethren of another sect, nor would they willingly be their companions in the next world. The feuds of the Fingalians ceased at death. “The feuds of other years, by the mighty dead, are forgotten. The warriors now meet in peace, and

\* “N sin chaidh sinn an dàil a chéile,  
Slòigh nan Druineach, ’s sìol na Féine.” — *Seann Dàn*.



ride together on the tempest's wing. No clang of the shield, no noise of the spear is heard in their peaceful dwelling. Side by side they sit, who once mixed in battle their steel. There Lochlin and Morven meet at the mutual feast, and listen together to the song of the bards. Why *should* they any more contend, when the blue fields above are so large, when the deer of the clouds are so many? They look down on the earth as they ride over it, and wonder why they contended."

I shall merely further remark, that all which goes to make the Highlander ridiculous, whether as regards witchcraft, incantations, prescience, and the like, is a remnant of Druidism.

They were so close and so cunning that the honest and simple people were deceived by them. They had probably *ventriloquists* among them,\* which art astonishes even in our own day, and which I, for my own part, believe to have been the famous *oracle* which bewildered worlds, leading them to worship stocks and stones. It is generally believed also that the Druids were in

\* In English we have *familiar Spirits*, in Gaelic, *Lean-nan sith*, a fairy sweetheart. The Hebrew is *schoel ob*, and means a *consulter with a bottle of skin*, because the person speaks with a hollow voice, as out of a bottle. The Greek calls them *ventriloquos*.—*Goodwin's Moses and Aaron*, p. 175.



some degree acquainted with the art of making gunpowder. At any rate, they possessed a number of secrets which excited the admiration of the ignorant, by whom the supposed preternatural knowledge of their priests was called *Méur Bhe'ul*, or the finger of their deity, which, by the by, is the root of the French word *merveille*, and of the English word *marvel*.

## CHAPTER IV.

COLUMBA LANDS IN THE HEBRIDES—RECEIVES A  
GRANT OF IONA—FOUND A MONASTERY—  
SUCCESS OF THE GOSPEL, &c.

FROM the brief sketch we have submitted of the Druidical religion, it may easily be conceived that the state of Scotland and Pickland, and all the other neighbouring “lands” was by no means enviable. The curse of “like people like priest,” had fastened upon them—all that was once excellent had now dwindled down to superstition and will-worship. God’s inscrutable and sublime method of salvation was unheard of and unknown, and our too credulous forefathers, consequently, were perishing for lack of knowledge. But we are now come to a more pleasing period in the history of Iona.

In the year 563, one Colum M’Felim M’Fergus, Latinized Columba, a Scotsman,\* set out from Ireland in a curach, and landed in the Æbudæ, or Hebride Isles: his crew consisted of 12. “These are the names,” says a MS. in the Cot-

\* Adamnani Vit. Columb. lib. i.

ton Library, “of the men who passed over with Columba from *Scotland*, when he first went to Britain,\*—Baithen and Comin; Cobhtach his brother, and Ernán his uncle; Dermít his servant, Rui, Fethuo, Scandal, Mocutheimne, Echoid, Thorannu, Mocufir, and Cetea Ciarnan.”

Upon Colum’s landing at *Port-a-Churaich* in Iona, some Druids, in the habit of monks, approached him, and pretended that they were also come to preach the gospel, and therefore requested him and his followers to give way; but Colum discovered the imposture.

According to the annals of Ulster and of Tighernac,† which Archbishop Usher seems disposed to follow, Colum applied for protection to Conal, son of Comgal, king of the Dalriad Scots. Conal, being a near relation, not only protected Colum, but also made him a *grant* of Iona. Here he founded that monastery which for centuries continued to be the first seminary of learning in Europe. Spottiswood says, that even in Columba’s own life-time, he founded 100 monasteries and 365 churches, and ordained 3000 priests or monks! These monks or priests were termed *Gilleán-De*: sing. *Gille-De*—i. e. a servant of God, or follower of God; just the same as the followers of Christ

\* *Vide* Usher.

† 573. “Conail MacComgail, qui obtulit insulam Hy-calumcille.”

were called *Gillean Criosd*, or Christians, at Antioch. From this term *Gille-De*, the perverters of Gaelic have made out “Kelede,” “Keledeus,” “Kuldee,” &c.\* To the last of these, however, I must, for the sake of perspicuity, adhere.

Monastic establishments were now the order of the day. Oransay, the island which Columba’s *curach* made out first, was made the second subject of a church and monastery, and next to it probably Crusay, Hinba, Tir-Ii, Col, Bonaw, &c. *Cill-Ighean-Aoidh* in Coll, where the ruins of a monastery may be seen, must have been a nunnery, I think, over which the daughter of *Aodh* and sister of St Colgan presided.

The influence which religion had on the minds and manners of men was, in the mean time, very great. It reached even to the palaces of kings, and some princes have preferred an heavenly to an earthly crown. Constantine, king of Cornwall, united himself with Columba—renounced an earthly kingdom, and became preacher of the gospel. With his wealth he founded a monastery of brethren at Govan, on the banks of the Clyde, two miles below Glasgow, over which he was Abbot. He suffered martyrdom for the faith in Kintyre, and was buried in his own monastery at

\* If historians would acquaint themselves with our alphabet alone, it would assist them much in their etymologies.

Govan.\* Columba, who meanwhile had established several monasteries and religious houses, and converted most of the western isles round about Iona, directed his attention to the Picts. For some time he took up his residence in the court of Brudius at Inverness, where he met with a petty prince of the Orkneys. Here he gained so much favour that his beloved son in the faith, Cormac, was offered protection in those regions of whales, and allowed to preach the doctrine of the Cross, to the overthrow of blind idolatry.

The establishment of the Culdees was divided into colleges or monasteries. In each of these there were twelve brethren, with an abbot, who had supreme authority over the rest, whilst all were under the control of the Abbot of Hy, or Iona—nay, the whole Scottish nation, as an ecclesiastical body, even bishops themselves.† “The Abbot and Culdees of ‘Hyona’ gained so much on the favour and esteem of the people, that, even in their cloistered retreats, they were at the head of all *civil*, as well as ecclesiastical matters.”‡

The number and distances of the churches, which were dedicated to Columba, are proofs in confirmation of Bede, Adamnan, and Innes, of the extent of the authority and influence of Iona. Let

\* Scotichronicon, lib. iii. c. 26.

† Bede, Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. ch. 3.

‡ Lowe's Hist. of Scotl. p. 320.

the reader bear with me while I enumerate a few, viz: Cill-cholum-chille, the oldest burying-ground in Morven—Cill-cholum-chille, in South Kintyre—Cill-cholum-chille, in Mull—Cil-cholum-chille, in Islay—Cill-cholum-chille, in North Uist—Cill-cholum-chille, in Benbicula—Cill-cholum-chille, in Skye—Cill-cholum-chille, in Sutherland—Colum-cill, in Lanark—Colum-cille Isle, in Lewis—Colum-cille Isle, in Loch-colum-cille, whereon are the remains of a monastery dedicated to Columba—Inch, or rather *Innis-cholum*, in the Frith of Forth, on which a monastery was founded—*Eilean-cholum*, a small island in Tongue parish—*St Colum Kirk*, in Sanday, in Orkney—*St Colum's Isle*, in the Minch—*Kirk Cholum*, in Wigtonshire.\* “Kirk cubrith, in Galloway,” says Hay, “belonged to the men of the Monastery of Iona.”† Kirk-cubrith is a corrupted term for *Kirk-cuthbert*.

Abernethy monastery, about eight miles from Perth, was long a celebrated seat of the Culdees. William the Lion, in gifting the half of the tithes proceeding from this property, to the noble Abbey of Aberbrothic, leaves the other moiety, *quam habetunt keledei*, in possession of the Culdees.

The monastery of Dunkeld was also a splendid Culdean seminary. Alexander Myln, a canon of

\* *Vide* Stat. Acc.

† *Scotia Sacra*.

Dunkeld, afterwards Abbot of Cambuskenneth, wrote an account of the lives of the Bishops of this see, still extant among the MSS. in the Advocates' Library. He says, that "Constantine, King of Picts, from his devotion to St Columba, at this time *patron of the whole kingdom*, founded and endowed an illustrious monastery here. In this monastery, he placed those religious called *Keldees*." These were supplied from Iona by Doncha, the then abbot.

Kilrimont, or St Andrew's, was founded about the year 825, "by King Hungus, for the benefit of the *Keldees*."\* The Ulster Annals, under the year 872, state the death of Bishop Colman, the abbot of this monastery. There must have been also a company of Culdees at Kirk-culdee, called by our *ear-writers* Kirkaldy.

When once the fire of grace is kindled in the soul, the happy subject *must* speak out, and his desire to do good to souls knows no limits. Iona now began to review her more distant neighbours. She saw the Picts and the Saxons bewildered in superstition. Stories of dreams, visions, and miracles, were sedulously propagated by the clergy and implicitly believed by the laity. A journey to Rome was thought the direct road to heaven, —hard watching, and bodily torments, were con-

\* Jamieson's Hist.



sidered necessary to save the soul,—and the most flagitious sinner no sooner put on the weeds of Dominic, than the sins of his former life were believed to be cancelled. Iona saw this,\* and under the protection of King Oswald of Northumbria, who himself had imbibed the true religion while in exile in Iona,† sent Aidan, with twelve disciples. By this eminent teacher, the interests of virtue and religion were much advanced. The monks who accompanied him instructed the youth in all the branches of learning, and built monasteries and churches throughout the country. So rapid indeed was the progress which Christianity made here, that Aidan, with King Oswald interpreting his energetic Gaelic, baptized, in seven days, 15,000 persons!‡

Aidan was appointed first bishop of *Eilean naomh*, or Holy Island.

The Picts who lived upon the Tweed were next the object of their high-toned charity. To these Aidan sent *Eata*, one of the twelve he took with him from Iona, and who was instrumental in bringing them over to the faith of the gospel. It was Eata, under Aidan, that laid the foundation of that famous institution, the monastery of *Maol-*

\* *Vide* Bede.

† Aidan was sent by Segenius, the fifth abbot from Columba.—*Bede*, lib. iii. c. 35.

‡ *Vide* Bede, lib. iii.



rois, or Melrose.\* Of this monastery Eata himself was first abbot: he was succeeded by the pious and learned Boisil, who again was succeeded by the celebrated St Cuthbert. This Cuthbert, "*The Histories of the Irish*" say, Columba took when a boy, and kept and educated for some time together with a girl named Bridget, afterwards St Bride.

The English began by this time to take instruction from these doves of Iona, and in a few years, some eminent scholars were produced. Macduff, a learned Celt, or Scot, instituted the monastery of Malmesbury. This monastery afterwards became famous under Aldhelm, a pupil of Macduff, and the first Englishman who wrote Latin†. Segenius, second abbot of Iona, founded about the same time the Church of Rechran, and appointed a pastor to it.‡

Aidan having now gone to receive the well-done of his master, the College of Iona ordained and sent Finan to succeed him as Bishop of Lindisfern, or Holy Island. He also took twelve disciples with him, of whom were Cedda, Adda, Betti, &c. These converted the middle Angles, Mercians, and East Saxons, whose chief city was London, and instructed them in the liberal arts.

\* Bede, lib. iii. c. 26.

† Cave, Hist. Lit. Secul. 7. A.D. 680.

‡ Cui Clui Seganii Abbatis Iae filii Tiachra.

Cedda was Bishop of Winchester, and in the year 670 of Litchfield.\* It was the knowledge of this, probably, that made Dr Johnson speak so warmly of Iona, Litchfield being his native place. Finan was succeeded by Colman and Tудо, who were both from Iona. The famous dispute at Whitby in Yorkshire,† about the observance of Easter, took place at that time, between this Colman and Willifred, a papist, from the Vatican. It will perhaps be a digression desirable, to give here a glance at the case.—A public dispute being condescended upon, the question was announced from the *chair*, viz., “Which is the best and most ancient form of keeping Easter?” Colman pleaded, that the Easter he observed he received from his Elders at Iona, who had sent him thither, and who themselves had it from St John the Evangelist, and all the disciples of the Lord, &c. His opponent pleaded, that Columba was not equal to Peter, the prince of the apostles, unto whom the Lord said, “Thou art Peter: and upon this rock I will build my Church, and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,” &c. Upon this, Oswi, the king, taking hold of the last words, asked Colman if it was so, that the

\* Bede, lib. iv. c. 2

† The nature of the dispute was—Whether the ordinance of the Supper took place upon the passing of the Son of God from life to death, or on the day of his crucifixion.

Lord had spoken these words unto Peter? Colman answered that he did. And can you show, said the king, that the like authority was given to your father Columba? Colman answered in the negative. Then, said the king, seeing Peter is the door-keeper of heaven, I will follow his rule; lest, when I come to heaven-gate, the door will be shut against me. This speech of the king was applauded by the majority of the hearers, and the victory adjudged to the opponent of Colman.

Colman, unwilling to compromise his principles, resigned and came home to Iona. Bishop Leslie says, that afterwards he went to Germany, Hungary, and Greece, preaching; and that, returning by Austria, he was killed by Pagans. None of the readers of this little book, I trust, will feel inclined to rest upon Oswi's opinion. Heaven has literally no keys: the language is metaphorical. The kingdom of heaven here means the Jews and believers in Christ, to which kingdom Peter was to introduce Gentiles.

Observing now the Continent groping her way by the taper of Aristotelian and Platonic philosophy, and the liberal arts suppressed, even by law, at Athens, Columbanus, a Scotsman, educated under Convellanus, Abbot of Iona, was sent thither, with twelve disciples, as usual. He soon extirpated the superstition of Gaul, where he founded the Abbey of Leuxeville, near Basconan,

where he himself presided as Abbot for twenty years.\* A continental writer says, that he “filled those regions with monasteries.” Among the twelve who accompanied him from Iona, were Giles, who became famous in Switzerland, and Ionas, who became an Abbot, and wrote the life of Columbanus.

Cataldus, “a native of Hyona,” left his paternal abode about the year 570, on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem ; whence he went to Italy, and was ordained Bishop of Tarentum. He succeeded at length to a Professorship at Geneva.†

Scotland had by this time received from surrounding nations the proud epithet of “*Learned Scotia* ;” and graduates from the University of Iona were much in demand. Spottiswood records, that “Charles the Great earnestly entreated King Achaius, who sent him Joannes Scotus, Claudius Clemens, Flaccus Albinus, and Rabanus Maurus. These four he sent with Gulielme his brother, and by them it was that the University of Paris was founded!‡ Scotus was by the same Charles employed for founding a University at Pavia,” in Austrian Italy. To enumerate the monks and abbots sent from Iona to Ireland would make this

\* *Vide* Lesly de Gest. Scot. p. 144, et Murator Antiq. tom. iii. p. 826.

† *Vide* Dempst. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. p. 163.

‡ *Vide* Spottiswood et Jamieson.

chapter too long. Colgan particularizes 56, and Dr Smith speaks of more. The most famous of them, I presume, was Gildas Albanus, who succeeded to the Monastery of Armagh. He translated the Mulmutine laws, out of the Celtic language into Latin, which were afterwards written in the English tongue by King Alfred.

St Giles, who had his education under Abbot Convellanus, in the beginning of the sixth century, and who accompanied his countrymen, Columbanus, to Gaul, was eminent in those regions. In Switzerland he converted several thousands to the Christian religion. The inhabitants of that quarter were so struck with the simplicity, and the strictly moral lives of the Culdees, that the successors of Giles in the monastery were made princes of the empire.\* Several churches were erected to the memory of this St Giles, among which was the Cathedral of Edinburgh.†

Ebba, the daughter of Edelfrid, king of Northumbria, having been, with her seven brothers, in exile at *Hyona*, was baptized to Christ. This princess founded and endowed the monastery of *Coilledu*, now Coldingham. Ebba was here chosen Abbess of the institution, which was neither a nunnery nor a monastery. Differing

\* Cave, Hist. Liter., author of some epistles on the choice of a bishop.

† St Jonas, in Vit. St Columbanus.

from the directress of former establishments of the kind, the authority of the abbess extended not only over the nuns, but also over the abbot and monks.\* This office resembles one held by Maclean the 1st of Du'airt over Iona in the year 1390, of which hereafter.

The worship of images became at this time a matter of controversy with the learned. Albin, or Albinus, already mentioned, wrote a treatise upon this subject under the name of Charlemagne, when he was his domestic servant, against the proceedings of the Council of Nice.† He taught a public school for several years at Pavia ; and became, as formerly mentioned, the founder of that University. He also published a Confession of Faith, and wrote the famous *Caroline Books*.‡

In the disputes which now agitated the world, St Clement from Iona, also already mentioned, held a high rank. When the most of Europe was debased by superstition, and merging into barbarism again, he boldly stood forth the champion of Christianity. In the end of the eighth century, he wrote a book against image worship.§

Joannes Scotus Erigena, a native of Ayrshire, was the first philosopher of his day. (Iona, it

\* Bede, lib. iv. c. 25.

† Vide Roger Hoveden, Ann. Francof. 1601.

‡ Confessio Fidei per Chiff. edit. 1651.

§ M. du Pin, Nouvel. Bib. des Aut.



may be recollected, had lands in Galloway, where the Gaelic was spoken till the 16th century.—(*Buchanan.*) Scotus corresponded with Charles the Bald of France, who intrusted him with the superintendence of his seminaries. During this time he wrote several learned books, and became the father of scholastic divinity.\* His translation of some comments of Maximus upon St Denys, was much the admiration of the age.† Having noticed these, it would be unfair to say nothing of their fellow, Rabanus Maurus, who also was an eminent scholar. He became Archbishop of Mentz, and wrote large commentaries upon the Sacred Scriptures, together with “a Treatise upon the Vision of God,” in MS.‡

The love for the monastic life had meanwhile increased, rather than abated. Loarn, probably a descendant of that royal house, had retired from the bustle of the world, and died Abbot of Cluona. An institution of the same kind had been formed in Bute, over which CORMAC MacAillila was now Abbot.§ He planted the gospel in Cowal, and all around him.

As a seat of learning, Iona, even in the seventh century, was in advance of any other in Europe; and its superiority, in this respect, was acknow-

\* Gulielm. Malmesb. de Gest. Reg.

† Typis impressa Oxon. 1681, fol. 1

‡ Vide Mabillon.

§ Vide Uls. Annals, 763.

leged by the monasteries of Ireland, as well as by those of the Picts, Scots, and Britons.

Lone isle! though storms have round thy turrets rode—  
Though their red shafts have sear'd thy marble brow—  
Thou wert the temple of the living God,  
And taught earth's millions at his shrine to bow.  
Though desolation wraps thy glories now,  
Still thou wilt be a marvel through all time  
For what thou hast been; and the dead who rot  
Around the fragments of thy towers sublime  
Once taught the world, and sway'd the realm of thought,  
And ruled the warriors of each northern clime.

Around thee sleeps the blue sky; and the sun  
Laughs—and will laugh for aye on thy decay.  
Thou'rt in the world like some benighted one—  
Home of the mighty—that have passed away!  
A thousand years upon the world have done  
Dreadful destruction! yet a happier day  
Once bless'd thy sacred mansions—and the ray  
Of Christianity blazed forth, and won  
The Druid from his darkness; from thee ran  
That fire which lit Creation in her youth,  
That turned the wandering savage into Man.  
And show'd him the omnipotence of truth.

Hail, sainted isle! thou art a *holy* spot,  
Engraven on all hearts; and thou art worth  
A pilgrimage, for glories long gone by,  
Thou noblest College of the ancient earth.  
Virtue and truth,—Religion self shall die,  
Ere thou canst perish from the chart of fame,  
Or darkness shroud the halo of thy name!—*McCore.*



## CHAPTER V.

A LIST OF SOME OF THE IMMEDIATE DISCIPLES OF  
COLUMBA—A CHRONICLE OF EVENTS CONNECT-  
ED WITH IONA, &c.

IN the preceding chapter, I have submitted a compendious view of the christianizing operations of Iona. In this I will submit,

1. *A list of some of the most eminent of Columba's immediate disciples.*
2. *A chronicle of some events connected with the Monastery of Ii, or Iona, from the Annals of the four Masters, of Ulster, Colgan, &c.*

(The twelve who came with Columba at first to Iona are marked thus. \*)

St Aidan, or Aodhan, son of Libher, afterwards Bishop of Lindisfarne.

St Aidan, son of Kein, Abbot of Couluisc. (There are 27 saints of this name.)

St Ailbhe, son of Ronan.

St Aonghas, or Angus of Dermach.

- 5 St Baithan of Doire-chalguich.

St Beathen, son of Brendon, Abbot of Hi.

St Barrind, Abbot of Cill-barrind.

St Becan, son of Ernan, brother of Cumin.

St Bee, or Beg-bhille, son of Tighearnach.

10 St Berach, a monk of Hi, Abbot of Cluainchorp.

St Berchan, or Barchan, *Adam*, III. 21.

St Bran, nephew of Columba.

\* St Carnan, son of Branduth.

St Ceata, supposed to be the Bishop Ceadan of *Bede*.

15 St Ceallach, Bishop of the Mercians in England.

St Cobhran, nephew of Columba.

St Cobhtach, son of Brendan, and brother of St Baithen.

St Colgan of Cill-cholgain, in Connaught.

20 St Colgan, son of Aodh, a Culdee of Hi.

St Colgan of Darmagh.

St Colman, or Columan.

St Colman, Abbot of Hi ; and afterwards of Lindsarne.

St Colman, son of Comhgell ; who died 620.

25 St Colman, Abbot of Rechran.

St Colman, son of Enan.

St Colman, son of Tighearnach.

St Colman, son of Ronan.

St Colum Crag, of Erach in Ulster.

30 St Coman, or Comhan, brother to St Cumins.

St Comgan, sister's son of Columba.

St Connall, Abbot of Innes-caoil, Ireland.

St Cona, or Conan, son of Tighearnach.

St Conacht, son of Moaldraighneach.

35 St Conrach M'Kein, of Dermach monastery.

St Constantin, King of Carnubia, or Cornwall, said by Fordun to have presided over the monastery of Govan, upon Clyde.

- St Cormac, Abbot of Darmagh.
- St Corman, the first missionary to the Northumbrians: Flourished A.D. 630.
- St Cuanan, Abbot of Cill-chuanain.
- 40 St Cuan, or Coan, son of Tighearnach.
- St Cuchumin M'Kein, Abbot of Hy.
- St Cumin, the Fair, Abbot of Hy, who wrote Columba's life.
- St Dachonna, Abbot of Eas-mac-nearc.
- 45 St Dermit, of the descendants of K. Leogaire.
- St Dallan Forguill, formerly a Bard.
- St Dima, afterwards Bishop of the Mercians.
- \* St Eochadh, or Eochadh Torannan.
- St Enna, son of Nuadhan, Abbot of Imleachfoda.
- \* St Ernan, uncle to Columba, and Abbot of Himbo.
- 50 St Ernan, Abbot of Drim-tuam in *Tir-chonail*.
- St Ernan, Abbot of Torrachan, of the race of K. Niall.
- St Ernan, of Teach Ernain.
- B. Eoghan, or Eoghanan.
- St Failbhe, Abbot of Ii.
- 55 St Farannan, Abbot of all Farannain.
- St Fiachna of Achaluing, Ethica.
- St Fechro, son of Rodan: Flourished 580.
- St Fergna, Abbot of Hy.
- 60 St Finan, Abbot of Towrd, near Dublin.
- St Finan, Abbot of Roth.
- St Finan, Abbot of *Magh-chasgain*.
- St Finan, an anchorite; supposed by some to be the same with the preceding.
- St Finan, who succeeded Aidan, as Bishop of *Eilean naomh*, or Holy Island.

- 65 St Finbarr, Abbot of Drim Cholum, Ireland.  
 St Finchán, Abbot of *Ard-chaoín*.  
 St Finlúgan, a Culdee of Hy.  
 St Fintín, son of Aodh, founder of the Monastery  
 of Caille-Abhind.  
 B. Genere, or Gueren, a Saxon, taught at Ii.
- 70\* St Grellán, son of Rodán, &c.  
 St Hilary, brother to St Aidan.  
 St Lasrán, Abbot of Darmagh.  
 St Lasrán, called Gardener.  
 St Lasrán, son of *Deaghilli*.
- 75 St Lasar, son of Ronán.  
 St Libhrán, from Connaught.  
 St Loman, of Loch-uair.  
 St Luga Ceanaladh, a monk of Hy.  
 \* St Lagaide of Cluanlarch.
- 80 St Lugaid, Abbot of *Cluain finchioll*.  
 St Lugair, *Laidir*, of Tir-do-chraoibh.  
 St Lughe M'Cumin, a monk of Hy; afterwards  
 Abbot of Eilean Naomh.  
 St Lughe M'Blai', a monk of Aoi.  
 St Lughne M'Cumin, brother to St Lughe.
- 85 St Lughbe M'Blai', brother to Lughe.  
 St Mernoc, or *Marnoc*, probably founder of Kil-  
 marnoc Monastery.  
 St Miril, sister's son of St Columba.  
 St Maolchus, brother to St Marnoc.  
 St Maoldubh, of Cluin-chonair.
- 90 St Maoldubh, son of Enán.  
 St Moab, his brother.  
 B. Maolcomha, son of Aodh M'Aimirich, rich,  
 who from a king became a monk.

St Maol-orain, a monk of Aoi.

B. Maolumha, son of Beothan, K. of Ireland, a monk of Aui.

95 St Mochana, son of Fiachna, K. of Ulster, afterwards a Pictish bishop.

\* St M'Cuthen, said by Usher to have wrote the Life of St Patrick.

St Moluan, a monk of Aoi.

St Moluc, of the race of Conal Gulban, Bishop of Lismore ; died 588.

St Mothorian, Abbot of *Drimchlaibh*.

100 St Munna, Abbot of Teach-Mhunna.

St Pilo, an Anglo-Saxon, taught at Hi.

St Oran, the first of "The order of Columba," who was buried at Hi : Reilig Orain is called after him.

St Ossin, Abbot of *Cluan-mhor*.

\* St Rus, or Russen, "*de insulis Pictorum*."

105 St Scandal, Abbot of Cillechobhrain.

St Segin, son of Fiachri, Abbot of Hi.

St Segin, son of Ronan, Abbot of Bangor, 664.

St Senach, half-brother of Columba, Abbot.

St Senan, a monk of Darmagh.

110 St Sillean, son of Neman, a monk of Hi.

St Suine, son of Curte, Abbot of Hi.

St Ternoc, of Ari-na-nolt in Ulster.

\* St Torannan, afterwards Abbot of Bangor.

St Trenan M'Rintir, Monk of Hi.

115 B. Tulchan, father of St Munna, who followed his sons to Ii, or Hyona.

Here are 115 of Columba's disciples—his immediate disciples, sainted. To follow them up

would make a volume of itself. Those who wish to know more about them, may consult that rare book, *Triadis Thaumaturgae*, &c., from which I am just copying a most interesting

*Chronicle of some events connected with Ii, or Iona ; translated from the Gaelic or Erische of the four Masters,\* into the Latin of Colgan, &c.*

A.D.

- 563. St Columba arrived in Hi, on Pentecost Eve.
- 563. St Oran dies, 27th of October.
- 572. Connal, King of the Scots, who gave Hi to Columba, died.
- 574. The great Council of Drimceat was held. At this Court Columba was ambassador from Scotland, and was made Primate of all the Irish Churches. It was at this time he saved the bards.
- 583. Brudi, son of Malcaoin, King of the Picts, died.
- 597. (The West annals say 594!) St Columba, the apostle of Albin, died, *aetat.* 77.
- 600. St Baithen, son of Brendan, Abbot of Hi, died.
- 601. St Lasran, son of Feradach, Abbot of Hi, died.
- 622. St Fergna, surnamed the Briton, Abbot of Hi, died.
- 635. St Aidan (M'Libher) and others, set out for England from *Iona*, at the desire of King Oswald, to convert his people to Christianity.
- 651. St Segin, son of Fiachra, Abbot of Hi, died.
- 651. St Aidan, Bishop or Abbot of Lindisferne, in

\* Where not otherwise marked, the quotations are presumed to be from the Annals of the four Masters.

England, died. (A number of his successors, as Cellach, Fintan, Colman, &c., were from Iona.)

- 654. St Suine, son of Curte, Abbot of Hi, died.
- 660. St Colman became Abbot of Hi, but soon after went to be Abbot of Lindisfarne, which he resigned in 664, and returned to Hi.
- 668. St Cumin the Fair, Abbot of Hi, the biographer of Columba, died.
- 677. St Failbhe, Abbot of Iona, died.
- 684. St Adamnan, Abbot of Iona, goes to reclaim from the Anglo Saxons some captives and plunder,—was honourably received, and obtained all he wanted.
- 686. St Adomnan, on a second embassy, got 60 captives restored from the Saxons to Ireland.
- 695. St Adomnan holds a Synod in Ireland; the acts of which are called “The Canons of Adomnan.”
- 703. St Adoman, or Adamnan, Abbot of Iona, and biographer of Columba, died *ætat.* 78.
- 708. St Conail, son of Failbhe, Abbot of Iona, died.
- 710. St Caide, or Caidan, Abbot of Iona, died.
- 713. St Dorbhen Fada, Abbot of Iona, died.
- 714. St Faolchuo, son of Dorbhen M’Teine, made Abbot of Iona, *ætat.* 74.
- 714. The family of Iona expelled beyond *Drim-Albin*, by Nectan, King of the Picts.
- 716. St Duncha, son of Ceannfaolai, Abbot of Iona, died; and Faolchuo, who had resigned his office to him, again resumes it.
- 720. St Faolchuo, son of Dorben, Abbot of Iona, died.



725. St Killeán, or perhaps Gillean, surnamed Fada, Abbot of Iona, died.
729. St Egbert or Egberht, who had remained 13 years in Iona, died.
744. Many of the people of Iona perished in a great storm.
747. St Killeán, or Gillean, Abbot of Iona, died.
754. St Failbhe II., Abbot of Iona, died, *aetat.* 87.
762. St Slebhen, son of Conghall, Abbot of Iona, died.
765. Beatus Nial, surnamed Frasach, King of Ireland, who had abdicated his kingdom, and had been for eight years in Iona, died.
767. St Suine II., Abbot of Iona, died; *Ulster Annals* say 771.
777. St Murcha, or Murdoch, son of Huagal, Prior of Iona, died.
786. B. Artgal M'Catheld, King of Connaught, who had abdicated, died in pilgrimage in Iona, in the eighth year of his pilgrimage.
793. Devastation of all the isles by foreigners.
797. St Bresal, son of Seigen, for 30 years Abbot of Iona, died.
- St Conmhall, Abbot of Iona (*Scriba Selectissimus*,) died.
797. Iona burnt by foreign pirates.
801. Iona again burnt by pirates, and many of the family destroyed in flames.
805. Of the family of Iona, 68 killed by foreigners.
810. St Ceallach, son of Conghall, Abbot of Iona, died.
815. St Constantin, King of the Picts, builds the church of Dunkeld.



816. St Dermot, Abbot of Iona, goes to Albin with Columba's coffer or box.
823. St Blamhac, son of Flanni, Abbot of Iona, slain.
827. Ungust II., or Hungus, King of the Picts, founded Kilrimont. (St Andrews.)
843. Kenneth M'Alpin, after his conquest of the Picts, removes from the West to the East coast.
848. Iurastach, Abbot of Iona, goes to Ireland with Calumkille's sacred things.
849. Kenneth the III., transported the relics of Columba to his new church, (probably Abernethy.)
852. Amhlaibh, or Aulay, King of Lochlin, came to Ireland, and laid it under tribute.
853. The Coarb of Colum-cille, a wise and excellent man, martyred among the Saxons.
863. St Cellach, son of Ailid, Abbot of Iona, died in the land of the Cruithens.
864. Tuathal M'Artgusa, Archbishop of Fortren, and Abbot of Dancaillein, (Dunkeld) died.
875. St Columba's box is carried to Ireland, lest it should fall into the hands of the Danes.
877. B. Ferrach M'Cormaic, Abbot of Iona, died.—*Ulster Annals* say 879.
890. St Andrews about this time made independent on Iona, by King Grig.—*Reg. S. And.*
890. St Flan, or Flanna, son of Maolduine, Abbot of Iona, died : *in pace dormivit.*
925. St Maolbride, son of Dornan, Co'arb of SS. Pat. Col. & Adomnan, died.
935. St Aonghas, or Angus, coadjutor of the Abbot of Iona, died.

937. Dubharb, Co'arb of Colum-cille, and Adomnan, rested in peace.
945. St Caoinchomrach, Abbot of Iona, died.
958. Dubh-dhuin, Co'arb of Colum-cille, died.
964. St Fingin, Bishop of Iona, died.
978. St Mugron, a bishop, scribe, and notable teacher, surnamed Nantri-rann, Co'arb of Colum-cille in Ireland and Scotland, died.
980. Amhlhubb, Aulaf, or Aulay, son of Sitric, Prince of the Normans of Dublin, after his defeat in the battle of Temtarahora, took refuge in Iona, where he died.—*Ulster Annals*.
985. The island of Iona pillaged on Christmas Eve by the Normans, who killed the Abbot and 15 of the learned of the Church.
997. Patrick, Co'arb of Cœlum-cille, died, *ætat.* 83.
988. Duncha, or Duncan, Co'arb of Cœlum-cille, died.
1004. B. Maolbride, Hua Rimed, Abbot of Iona, died.
1009. Martin M'Cineadh, Co'arb of Cœlum-cille, died.
1010. Murdoch, Co'arb of SS. Columba and Adamnan, an eminent Professor of Theology, died.
1015. B. Flani Abhra, Abbot of Iona, died.
1034. O'Huchton, drowned coming from Scotland with *Coliver* Colum-cille's book, and three MSS.—*Ulster Annals*.
1057. Robertach M'Donell, Co'arb of Columba, died.
1070. B. M'Baithen, Abbot of Iona, died.
1093. Magnus, King of Norway, subjugates the West Isles.
1099. B. Duncha, son of Moenach, Abbot of Iona, died.
1126. The first Legate (John of Crema) comes to

Scotland. (This is the first trace of Papal power here.)

1152. Cardinal Jo. Papira arrives in Ireland, with four stoles or ropes, sent by the Pope to four Archbishops of Ireland.
1178. St Patrician Huabranian, a venerable and holy Bishop, died at Iona.
1188. B. Amhluabh Hua Loighre, a pilgrim in Iona, died in a venerable old age.
1199. St Muireach Hua Baodin, died in Iona.\*

\* After labouring at this "Chronicle of Events" for a whole night, I found the whole translated to my hand by Dr Smith.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE STATE OF THINGS AT IONA BEGINS TO  
DECLINE—IONA BURNT BY THE DANES—RE-  
FORMATION!—DEVASTATION—HORROR—MUR-  
DER, &c.

“No more of talk, where God or angel guest  
With man, as with his friend familiar, used  
To sit indulgent, and with him partake  
Rural repast, permitting him the while  
Venial discourse unblamed : I now must change  
These notes to tragic.”—

So sang sweet Milton, now about to introduce—  
“foul distrust and breach disloyal, on the part of  
man.”

COLUMBA commenced his glorious career in  
Iona about the year 563, and was called to receive  
the “well done” of his God on the 5th of June  
597. The change he was the means of effecting  
in the moral condition of Europe during these 34  
years, is one of the most astonishing events con-  
nected with Scottish history. “He was all this  
while in his monastery of Hy, the mother and  
superior of no less than 100 more, which he him-

self had procured to be built, and given rules and pastors to.”—*Spottiswood, lib. i. p. 10.*

His successors, of whom I have in the preceding chapter submitted an epitome list, followed in his steps with the same devoted zeal for nearly 600 years. But churches, like governments, are subject to degeneration, and when a church or an individual grows lukewarm, the state of things becomes unpalatable and unsavoury to God.

The first thing that shook the stability of Iona college was her own venerable son Adamnan's defection. This abbot being sent as ambassador to King Alfred of Northumbria, he became a convert to the Romish rites, which, on his return to Iona, he attempted to introduce there, but without any visible effect. A. D. 716, that is, about 13 years after the death of Adomnan, King Nectan the III. in league with Ceolfrid, banished those who were refractory of the monks of Iona “beyond *Drim Albin*,” and in the same year Ecgberht the priest went from Northumbria to Iona with a view to introduce the new Eucharist and Tonsure. This it took him 13 years to accomplish; but still a man's most dangerous foes are those of his own household, and on the 23d day of April 729, Abbot Duncan and the brethren for the first time joined Ecgberht!

The *Romish* monks had by this time gained

great ground both in Scotland and England. With their *celibacy*, and seeming sanctity, they had duped the populace to the detriment of the honest Culdees, who held, as every man ought, celibacy in dishonour.

“ Sin-bred ! how have ye troubled mankind  
With shows instead ; mere shows of *seeming* pure,  
And banished from man’s life his happiest life—  
Simplicity and spotless innocence.”

Ecgberht died this same year, and Iona seems to have enjoyed peace for 60 years. In 793, the Scandinavian spoilers, who from year to year had infested the maritime coasts of Scotland, laid waste most of the islands of Britain. In 796, they carried their piratical incursions to the coast of Ireland and Scotland, and continuing their ruthless course round the western coast, “burnt the famous monastery of *Hyona*, the only sanctuary of *real* learning which Europe even at that time possessed.”

“ Now watch-fires burst from across the main,  
From Rona and Uist and Skye,  
To tell that the ships of the Dane  
And the red-hair’d spoilers were nigh.”\*

They burnt it a second time, together with the city of Colum-cille, in 801 ; and, destitute alike of humanity and Christianity they, some years

afterwards, put to the sword sixty-eight monks of Hyona.\*

“They have lighted the island with ruin’s torch :  
And the holy men of Iona’s church,  
In the temple of God lay slain.”

In 806, the first year of the reign of King Angus, the inhabitants of Iona began to repair the breaches made by the “Gentiles.” Angus was slain after a reign of nine years, and was succeeded by Aedh II. This king seems not to have been in the graces of the Culdees, for it is said, “The men of Colum-cille went in a body to curse him.”

In 818, the cruelty and rapine of the “Gentiles” was again renewed against the Isles, and, permitted by God to scourge the apostacy of man, they directed their fury upon Iona. Here they sacrificed, as a victim to their pagan idolatry, *Blathmac MacFlain* the Abbot, and 15 of his associates.† The persecuted university of Iona now began to be alarmed at the progress of barbarians, and, therefore, began to transport themselves and their relics. We read that Diarmid, one of the Abbots, set off with some relics, and for fear of the pirates, took so circuitous a route that it was two years before he made out Ireland. “O’ Huchton was drowned coming from Scotland with Calibher,”‡ or the Book of Battles, “Colum-

\* Ulster Annals.

† Ulster Annals.

‡ *Cath*, battle ; and *leabhar*, a book.



cille's Book, and three MSS." From these and several other instances which might be adduced, much may be conjectured.

Notwithstanding the great decline of power, however, there continued still to be monks and abbots at Iona.—For

1489, April. A letter passed under the privy seal of James IV "to the Pape, and ane to the Vice-Chancellor, for the erection of the Abbacy of Calum Cille in the Bishopis sete of the Ilis, quhill his principal kirk in the Isle of Man be retenit fra Englishemen—*solicitat per comitem de Ergile*."—*Regist. Sec. Sig.* Vol. i. fol. 81.

1492, August 1. From a very interesting charter of this date, preserved in the charter-chest of Lochbuy, we find that John, Abbot of Y, as one of the council of the Lord of the Isles, affixed his seal to a charter by John Lord of the Isles, and Alex<sup>r</sup> de Insulis, Lord of Lochalsh, (John's nephew), in favour of John M'Gilleon, Lord of Lochbuy, dated at Oransay. The seal of Abbot John is now so much obliterated, that the device cannot be ascertained.

"1508-9, January. Protectio regis facta religiosis mulieribus suisque oratricibus Dominæ Agnetæ filiæ Donaldi M'Gillane Priorissæ Monasterii Monialium beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ in insula sancti Columbæ infra Dominium Insularum et conventui ejusdem," &c. *Ibid.* iii. fol. 209;—



*i. e.* the king's protection was granted to the Nuns of Lady Agnes, daughter of Donald M'Laine, Prioress of the monastery and convent of the most blessed Virgin, in the Island of St. Columba, within the Lordship of the Isles.

1548, July 15. "Admission of Mary, daughter of Ferquhar, *alias* MacGilleon, to be Prioress of Icolmkill." *Ibid.* xxii. fol. 37.

"1566-7, February 15. Gift to Marion Mac-lane of the Prioressie and Nunnerie of the Abbey of Ycolmkill—vacant through decease of umq<sup>le</sup>. Agnes M'Clane, last prioress thereof." *Ibid.* xxxvi. fol. 22.

The Duart Macleans, of whom *Coll* is the lineal representative, seem to have had a close connection with Ii a century before this period, for Lachlan Maclean, the 1st of Duart, had, 12th July, 1390, a charter from Donald Lord of the Isles, comprehending, *inter alia*, "Officium Fragramanache et Armanache in insula de Hy." *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, Vol. xiii. No. 300. What this office was it puzzles me to ascertain. *Frag* is an obsolete Gaelic term for a woman, and *manache* is still the term for a monk. It must have been, therefore, some office over both the nunnery and monastery. I find in Douglas' Baronage, under the same date, two or three charters more given him; such as, "*Custodia castrorum de Kernaburg, et Isleburg, cum officio*

*Balivatus totarum terrarum de Tyray*" (Tyree), &c.

Iona, however, was destined soon to be Abbotless.

A.D. 1561. The Act of the Convention of Estates was passed at desire of the church, "for demolishing all the abbeys of monks and friars, and for suppressing whatsoever monuments of idolatry were remaining in the realm." In consequence of this edict, ensued, as we may easily conceive, a pitiful devastation of churches and monasteries. It was at this time the mobility destroyed and carried away so many of the crosses which adorned Iona! The very sepulchres of the dead were rifled and ript up—Bibliothecs, and other volumes of the fathers, together with the registers of the church, were cast into the streets, and afterwards gathered in heaps and burnt.\* The monks made their escape the best way they could, carrying with them to the Vatican and other places the most precious and portable relics. The principal lands belonging to the Monastery fell into the hands of MacLean of Duart, the most powerful of the chiefs in the neighbourhood.

A.D. 1609. The next striking event in the history of the now desolate Iona, was a great

\* Keith Hist. p. 503.

assembly of all the chiefs in the Isles, to meet on this holy spot their worthy bishop Andrew Knox (of the family of Ranfurly). This benevolent prelate, whose best eulogium is, that his labours in his diocese were of the same description with those which we have seen in our own times undertaken, and so successfully prosecuted, by the venerable PRINCIPAL BAIRD—this prelate, I say, found the people over whom he was set, reduced to a state of deplorable ignorance, and almost barbarism, owing to the *Reformation*.—Start not, reader, at this assertion, however bold it may appear, for nothing is more certain : and thus we prove it. *Before* the Reformation, the clergy in the Highlands and Islands were not only numerous, but well provided for by the piety of the natives ; and whatever may have been the abuses of the Church of Rome in regard to dispensations, indulgences, &c. (the immediate cause of Luther's zeal), it cannot be denied that the ministers of religion in the Highlands were respected by, and as a matter of course were useful to, the people among whom their lot was cast. The Reformation, however eagerly embraced, for private reasons, by the nobility and great chiefs, came suddenly upon the mass of the Highlanders, who were not prepared for it. Nor did those who at this time without scruple seized the greater part of the church lands and revenues,

and expelled the Romish clergy, trouble themselves about supplying the means of religious instruction to the people, to the same extent as under the old regime. What was the consequence? *After* the Reformation, the clergy became comparatively few in number, for want of the proper means of support—many parishes and charges became vacant, and remained so for a length of time—the churches and chapels became ruinous—and the people began to fall into a state of barbarism that would have disgraced the dark ages.

We all know the difficulty with which, in the rich and fertile Lowlands, the establishment of the Kirk, on its present moderate footing in regard to the payment of its clergy, was carried into effect. But difficult as this was in the vicinity of the Court, the Parliament, and the General Assembly, what must have been the obstacles to such an arrangement in the remote and almost inaccessible Highlands and Isles!

Bishop Knox found his diocese in the lamentable state which we have attempted to describe. He failed not to bring the subject fully under the notice of King James, who had then recently ascended the throne of England; and he never relaxed his efforts till all the chiefs of the Isles were compelled to meet him at IONA, there to agree upon certain important measures for the

improvement and civilization of the Isles. This Court, as it was called, of the Bishop of the Isles, was held at Iona in the summer of 1609. The statutes there agreed upon, and sanctioned by the oaths of the chiefs, are abundantly interesting, and appear to have been drawn up with consummate ability.

This is perhaps the proper place to introduce a few interesting original documents relative to Iona. I am enabled to give them in this Edition only through the kindness of the "Iona Club." I have cancelled what I deemed extraneous matter to make room for them.

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## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF ICOLMKILL AND THE  
BISHOPRICK OF THE ISLES.

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NO. I.—RENTALE OF THE BISHOPRICK OF THE ILIS AND  
ABBACIE OF ECOLMKILL.\*

IMPRIMIS, the twentie pund landis of Ecolmkill, 20 lib.  
Item, of Rosse, . . . . . 20 lib.  
Item, in Brolos ane pennie land, callit Tor-  
rinichtrache, . . . . . 1d.

\* This rental has been hitherto a desideratum among the ecclesiastical antiquaries of Scotland, neither it nor that of the Bishoprick of Argyle being contained in the Register of Assumption of the thirds of Benefices, made in conse-

Item, the pennie land of Cairsaige, . . .	1d.
Item, the pennie land of Carvalge, . . .	1d.
Item, the half-pennie land of Glasveildirie, . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Item, ane pennie land of Kilphubbill, . . .	1d.
Item, the pennie land of the Keallinne, . . .	1d.
Item, the pennie land of Kilbrandane, . . .	1d.
Item, the pennie land of Kilneoning, . . .	1d.
Item, the half-pennie land of Cengarwgerrie, . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Item, the pennie land of Kilmorie, . . .	1d.

The foirsaid nyne pennie land, all lyand within  
the Isle of Mulle.

*The Abbatis landis within the Isle of Teirie.*

Item, Baillephuille, . . . . .	4 lib.
Item, the Wyle, . . . . .	13s. 4d.

*The Abbatis landis within the Clanrannaldis boundis.*

Item, the Ile of Cannay, . . . . .	20 lib.
Item, Ballenamanniche, lyand within the Ile of Weist.	

*The Abbatis landis within Donald Gormis' boundis.*

Item, [in] the Ile of Weist the tuentie-four pennie land, callit Unganab, . . . . .	24d.
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quence of the act of Parliament, 1561. This interesting document was discovered in the charter chest of Sir John Campbell of Airds and Ardnamurchan, Baronet, in February, 1834. Although there is no marking to that effect, it appears to have been a copy made in the reign of James VI. from the certified rental drawn up in 1561, which by some omission was never registered. The document is in perfect preservation, and its general accuracy is unquestionable. It is to be hoped that the late discovery of this rental will encourage the search for that of Argyle, which is still wanting.



Item, Baillenakill in Eillera.

Item, Kirkapost in Eillera.

Item, Cairenische thair.

Item, in Trouterneiss ane half *teirunge*,\* callit Keilbakstar.

Item, in Sleatt the tua Airmadillis.

*The landis that M' Aen† hes of the Abbatis.*

Item, Geirgadeill in Ardnamurchan.

*The Abbatis landis possest be M' Cloid of Heries.*

Item, the Ards of Glenelge.

*The landis quhilk the Clandonald of the West‡ Illis haldis of the Abbott.*

Item, the tuentie pundis of Laintymanniche and Mwicheleische in Illa, . . . . . 20 lib.

Item, Ardneiv in Illa, . . . . . 8 lib. 13s 4d

Item, the fourtie merk landis of Skeirkenzie in Kintyre, . . . . . 26 lib. 13s. 4d.

Item, the sax merkis landis of Camasnanesserin in Melphort, . . . . . 4 lib.

Item, the 1<sup>c</sup> pennie land of Muckarn. §

\* A *teirunge* or *terunga* of land was equivalent to four merk lands of old extent.

† Mac Ian of Ardnamurchan.

‡ This seems to be an error for *south west*.

§ The six merk lands of Camusnanesrin and the lands of Muckarn seem to be here erroneously included under the lands held of the Abbot by the Clandonald. They perhaps formed part of the Priory lands of Ardchattan, held at the Reformation along with the Abbacy of Icolmkill *in commendam*, by the Bishop of the Isles; and at all events, were never held by the Clandonald, either under the Abbot or any other superior.

*The Kirkis and Personagis perteing the Abbatt of Ecolmkill.*

Item, the teindis of Ecolmkill, callit the personaige of Tempill-Ronaige.\*

Item, the personag of Kilviceowinn in Rosse.

Item, the personag of Keilfeinchen in Mulle.

Item, the personag of Keilnoening in Mulle.

Item, the personag of Keilchallumkill in Quayneise in Mulle.

Item, the personag of Keillea in Toirrasa in Mulle.

Item, the personag of Soiribie in Teirie.

Item, the personage of Keilpedder in Veist.

Item, the personage of Howmoir thair.

Item, the personage of Sand thair.

Item, the personage of Cannay.

Item, the personage of Sleatt.

Item, the personage of Mwidort.

Item, the personage of Skeirkenze in Kintyre.

Item, the personage of Keilcheirran thair.

Item, the personage of Keilchrist in Strathawradall.\*

*Rentale of Bischopis landis within the Illis.*

Imprimis, Keilvennie in Illa.

Item, the Ille callit Ellanamwk, possest be M'Aen of Ardnamurchane.

Item, the Ile of Rasay.†

\* In the Isle of Sky. Kilchrist is now the parish church of Strath.

† "The Ile of Raarsay is excellent for fishing, perteing to M'Gyllychallum of Raarsay be the suord, and to the Bischop of the Iles be heritage: This same M'Gyllychallum should bey M'Cloyd of the Lewis."—*Dean Munro.*



Item, the fyve Illis of Barray.\*

Item, Skeirachnaheie in Loise.†

Item Rona na nav.

Item, in Orknay.

Item, Snisport in Troutirneise.

Item, Kirkapost in Teirie.

*The Teindis and personagis perteing the Bischop.*

Item, the Teindis of Buitt.

Item, the Teindis of Arran.

Item, the personage of Kirkapost in Teirie.

Item, the personage of Eie in Loise.‡

\* Dean Munro enumerates *nine* Isles in the vicinity of Barra as pertaining to the Bishop, viz. Lingay, Gigarun, Berneray, Megaly, Pabay, Fladay, Scarpnamutt, Sanderay, and Watersay. From the following notice it would appear that these Isles, as well as Rasay, were held by a layman by the sword, to the damage of the Bishoprick :—

“ Compeirit ane Reuerend fader in God, Ferquhar, Bischop of the Ilis and Commendatour of Colmekyll, and constitut Procuratour Maister Jhone Lethame, *cum totis Procuratoribus curie*, in the actioun movit be him aganis M’Neile the Lard of Barray, MacGillechallum callit of Rasay, and in all uther actionis,” &c.—*Acta Dominorum Concilii et Sessionis* ; 14th March, 1532-3.

† The Isle of Lewis.

‡ The old church of Eie now in ruins, is in the immediate vicinity of Stornoway. Here many of the chiefs of the *Siol Torcuil*, or Macleods of Lewis, are interred ; and particularly Malcolm, son of Roderick Macleod, Lord of Lewis, who died in the reign of James V. His tomb is still visible, and the inscription is entire, with the exception of the date.

Item, the personage of Roidill in Hereis.\*

Item, the personage of Suisport in Troutirneise.

Item, the third pairt of all personagis pertaining to the Abbatt, the personag of Ecolmkill and Rosse onlie exceptit.

NO. II.—RENTAL OF THE LANDS IN A “PRECEPT, UNDER THE PRIVY SEAL OF JAMES VI., OF A ROYAL CHARTER OF NOVODAMUS, WITH AUGMENTATION OF THE RENTAL, TO HECTOR MACLEAN, SON AND APPARENT HEIR OF LAUCHLAN MACLEAN OF DOWART, OF THE ISLAND OF IONA, AND MANY OTHER LANDS, FORMERLY BELONGING TO THE ABBOT OF IONA, 1587—8.”

I.—*Lands Rossy, or in Ross of Mull.*

1. <i>Schabbay</i> —four penny lands. [ <i>Shiaba.</i> ]	Scots money.		
24 stones of oat meal, at 8d.	L.0	16	0
24 stones of cheese, at 1s.	1	4	0
4 calved cows, at 10s.	2	0	0
Eik in money	0	9	2
Quowart, 3 stones meal	0	2	0
3 stones cheese	0	3	0
4 bolls coal, at 8d.	0	2	8
4 bolls lime, at 1s.	0	4	0

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Total *Schabbay* L.5 0 10

\* There was at Rowdill a religious house, founded by Macleod of Harris, and dedicated to St Clement. It has long been the burial-place of the chiefs of this family: and the monument of Alexander Macleod of Harris and Dunvegan (commonly called Alister Crottach or Hump-backed), who died in the reign of Queen Mary, is still in good preservation, and is perhaps the most beautiful specimen of sculpture in all the Western Isles.

2. *Skur*—one and a half penny lands. Scots money.

9 stones meal	.	.	L.0	6	0
9 stones cheese	.	.	0	9	0
1 mart and half a mart, at 10s.	0	15	0		
Eik in money	.	.	0	1	3
Quowart $1\frac{1}{2}$ stone meal	.	.	0	1	0
$1\frac{1}{2}$ stone cheese	.	.	0	1	6
$1\frac{1}{2}$ bolls coal	.	.	0	1	0
$1\frac{1}{2}$ bolls lime	.	.	0	1	6

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Total *Skur* 1 16 3

3. *Kilmakewin*—four penny lands.[*Kilvicewin.*]

24 stones meal	.	.	L.0	16	0
24 stones cheese	.	.	1	4	0
4 marts	.	.	2	0	0
Eik in money	.	.	0	6	10
Quowart, $3\frac{1}{2}$ stones meal	.	.	0	2	4
$3\frac{1}{2}$ stones cheese	.	.	0	3	6
4 bolls coal	.	.	0	2	8
4 bolls lime	.	.	0	4	0

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Total *Kilmakewin* 4 19 4

4. *Seirpene*—two penny lands. [*Seirphein.*]

12 stones meal	.	.	L.0	8	0
12 stones cheese	.	.	0	12	0
Eik in money	.	.	0	1	8
Quowart, 2 stones meal	.	.	0	1	4
2 stones cheese	.	.	0	2	0
2 bolls coal	.	.	0	1	4
2 bolls lime	.	.	0	2	0

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Total *Seirpene* 1 8 4

5. *Edderaloch*—a half penny land.

Scots money.

3 stones meal . . . L.0 2 0

3 stones cheese . . . 0 3 0

No eik or other burdens.

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 Total *Edderaloch* 0 5 0
6. *Uskane*—a penny land.

6 stones meal . . . L.0 4 0

6 stones cheese . . . 0 6 0

1 mart . . . 0 10 0

Eik in money . . . 0 0 10

Quowart, 1 stone meal . . . 0 0 8

1 stone cheese . . . 0 1 0

1 boll coal . . . 0 0 8

1 boll lime . . . 0 1 0

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 Total *Uskane* 1 4 2
7. *Ardkavaig*—a penny land. [*Ardchiaveg.*]The same as *Uskane*.Total *Ardkavaig* 1 4 28. *Larakhin*—a penny land.The same as the two preceding, without  
quowart, amounting to 1s. 8d.Total *Larakhin* 1 2 69. *Ardachig*—a penny land. [*Ardacha.*]The same as *Uskane*.Total *Ardachig* 1 4 210. *Lewone*—a half penny land.The same as *Edderaloch*, No. 5.Total *Lewone* 0 5 011. *Knoknafineg*—a penny land. [*Knocknafenag.*]

The same as No. 8.

Total *Knoknafineg* 1 2 6

12. *Knoktaytarlach*—a penny land. Scots money.  
The same as Nos. 8 and 11.  
Total *Knoktaytarlach* 1 2 6
13. *Traysane*—two penny lands. [*Traysana*.]  
The same as *Seirpene*, No. 4, with the  
addition of 2 marts at 10s.  
Total *Traysane* 2 8 4
14. *Ardwalleneis*—two penny lands. [*Arde-*  
*lanish*.]  
The same as No. 13.  
Total *Ardwalleneis* 2 8 4
15. *Bernis*—a penny land.  
The same as No. 6.  
Total *Bernis* 1 4 2
16. *Teirgargane*—two penny lands. [*Tirer-*  
*gane*.]  
The same as No. 14.  
Total *Teirgargane* 2 8 4
17. *Teirkill*—a penny land. [*Tirgile*.]  
The same as No. 6.  
Total *Teirkill* 1 4 2
18. *Kilmore*.—Three farthing lands.  
4½ stones meal . . . L.0 3 0  
4½ stones cheese . . . 0 4 6  
⅓ of a mart, at 10s. . . 0 3 4  
Eik in money . . . 0 0 7½  
1 boll coal . . . 0 0 8  
1 boll lime . . . 0 1 0  

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Total *Kilmore* 0 13 1½
19. *Ellanecalmene*—a half penny land.  
The same as No. 5.  
Total *Ellanecalmene* 0 5 0

20. *Stokadell*—two penny lands. Scots money.  
 The same as Nos. 4 and 13.  
Total *Stokadell*      2   8   4
21. *Ballimoir*—four penny lands.  
 64 stones white meal, at 8d. L. 2   2   8  
 4 calved cows, at 10s.      .      2   0   0  
 Eik in money      .      .      0   3   4  


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Total *Ballimoir*      4   6   0
22. *Sailquhur*—a penny land. [*Sailchurra.*]  
 The same as No. 8.  
Total *Sailquhur*      1   2   6
23. *Potty*—one and a half penny lands.  
 28 stones white meal      .   L. 0 18   8  
 1 mart and  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mart, at 10s.      0 15   0  
 Eik in money      .      .      0   1   3  


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Total *Potty*      1 14 11
24. *Terchladane*—a penny land.  
 The same as No. 8.  
Total *Terchladane*      1   2   6
25. *Creweych, lower*—a half penny land.  
 [*Creich.*]  
 The same as No. 5.  
Total *Creweych, lower*      0   5   0
26. *Creweych, upper*—a half penny land.  
 The same as No. 5.  
Total *Creweych, upper*      0   5   0
27. *Ardchenaig*—two penny lands. [*Ardfinaig.*]  
 The same as No. 13.  
Total *Ardchenaig*      2   8   4

28. Part of *Teirgeyll*, called *Callegownan*—two  
and a half penny lands.

Scots money.

15 stones meal	.	.	L.0	10	0
15 stones cheese	.	.	0	15	0
3 marts, at 10s.	.	.	1	10	0
Eik in money	.	.	0	2	6
Quowart, 2 stones meal	.	.	0	1	4
2 stones cheese	.	.	0	2	0
3 bolls coal	.	.	0	2	0
3 bolls lime	.	.	0	3	0

Total *Callegownan* 3 5 10

29. *Bonessane*—three and a half penny lands.

21 stones meal	.	.	L.0	14	0
21 stones cheese	.	.	1	1	0
4 marts	.	.	2	0	0
Eik in money	.	.	0	3	4
Quowart, 2 stones meal	.	.	0	1	4
2 stones cheese	.	.	0	2	0
4 bolls coal	.	.	0	2	8
4 bolls lime	.	.	0	4	0

Total *Bonessane* 4 8 4

30. *Crongerd*—two penny lands. [*Cronagart.*]

12 stones meal	.	.	L.0	8	0
12 stones cheese	.	.	0	12	0
2 marts	.	.	1	0	0
Eik in money	.	.	0	4	2
Quowart, 1 stone meal	.	.	0	0	8
1 stone cheese	.	.	0	1	0

Total *Crongerd* 2 5 10

31. *Ley*—two penny lands.

The same as No. 30, with the addition of  
1 stone of meal and 1 stone of cheese  
to the *quowart*.

Total *Ley* 2 7 6



32. *Assabol*—a penny land. Scots money.  
The same as No. 8.

Total *Assabol* 1 2 6

33. *Ardtwn*—five penny lands.

30 stones meal . . . L.1 0 0

30 stones cheese . . . 1 10 8

4 marts . . . . . 2 0 0

Quowart, 4 stones meal . . . 0 2 8

4 stones cheese . . . 0 4 0

4 bolls coal . . . . . 0 2 8

4 bolls lime . . . . . 0 4 0

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Total *Ardtwn* 5 3 4

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Total money rent and rent in kind converted into money, payable to the crown for the above lands in Ross of Mull . . . . . L.63 8 7½

## II.—*Lands in other parts of Mull.*

34. *Kilphobull*—a penny land. [*Kilphubill*, now called *Killichronan*.]

12 stones meal . . . L.0 8 0

12 stones cheese . . . 0 12 0

1 mart . . . . . 0 10 0

Eik in money . . . . . 0 6 8

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Total *Kilphobull* 1 16 8

35. *Killin*—a penny land. [*Kellan*.]

The same as No. 34.

Total *Killin*. 1 16 8

36. *Calyemoir*—a penny land.

The same as No. 34.

Total *Calyemoir* 1 16 8

37. *Kilvrany*n—a penny land. [*Kilvrenan*.] 1 16 8

Scots money.

38. <i>Kilnyne</i> —a penny land. [ <i>Kilninian.</i> ]	1	16	8
39. <i>Kingargera</i> —a penny land. [ <i>Kengarar.</i> ]	1	16	8
40. <i>Kilmorie</i> —three farthing lands.			
9 stones meal . . .	L.0	6	0
9 stones cheese . . .	0	9	0
$\frac{3}{4}$ of a mart, at 10s. . .	0	2	6
Eik in money . . .	0	5	0
Total <i>Kilmorie</i>		1	2 6
41. <i>Beith</i> —two penny lands—seems an error for one penny land.			
Rent the same as 34. Total <i>Beith</i>		1	16 8
42. <i>Thorin</i> —a penny land. [ <i>Torran.</i> ]	1	16	8
43. <i>Carsaig</i> —a penny land	1	16	8
44. <i>Skrydane &amp; Ard</i> —a penny land	1	16	8
45. <i>Gleswilder &amp; Lyald</i> —a penny land	1	16	8
Total money rent and rent in kind, pay- able to the crown for the above lands in other parts of Mull . . .	L.21	5	10

III.—*Island of Iona.*

46. <i>Iona</i> , old rent—30 marks	L.20	0	0
General Augmentation of rental on Iona and all the preceding lands, 4 marks	2	13	4
Total rent payable to the crown for <i>Iona</i>	22	13	4

IV.—*Lands in Isla.*

47. <i>Skarrals</i> —a quarter land.			
30 stones meal . . .	L.1	0	0
30 stones cheese . . .	1	10	0
4 marts . . .	2	0	0
Eik in money . . .	0	10	0
Total <i>Skarrals</i>	5	0	0

Scots money.

48. *Kinnabolss*—a quarter land, same as No. 47 5 0 0  
 49. *Allabolss*—an eighth or half quarter land 2 10 0  
 50. *Nekill*—an eighth or half quarter land 2 10 0

51. *Sorne*—seven and a half *cow-lands*.

22 stones meal	.	.	L.0	14	8
22 stones cheese	.	.	1	2	0
1 mart	.	.	0	10	0
Eik in money	.	.	0	7	0

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Total *Sorne* 2 13 8

52. *Skeag* and *Lewres*—two and a half *cow-lands*.

7½ stones meal	.	.	L.0	5	0
7½ stones cheese	.	.	0	7	0

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Total *Skeag* and *Lewres* 0 12 0

53. *Mee*, *Ballevannich*, and the *Isle of Ardnew*  
 —being two quarters of the lands of  
*Ardnew* [*Ardnave*], and equivalent to  
 five merk lands.

24 bolls of oatmeal, of the  
 large measure, at 6s. 8d.

a boll	.	.	.	L.7	16	8
Money	.	.	.	0	13	4

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Total *Mee*, *Ballevannich*, & *Isle of Ardnew* 8 10 0

Total money rent and rent in kind, pay-  
 able to the crown for the above lands  
 in *Isla* . . . . . L.26 15 8

#### V.—*Lands in Tiree.*

54. *Ballefulye*—six mark lands.

48 males of oatmeal, at 3s. 4d. a male L.8 0 0

55. <i>Kirkebald</i> —six mark lands.	Scots money.
The same as No. 54 . . .	8 0 0
56. <i>Woyll</i> —one mark land.	
14 males of meal, at 3s. 4d. L.2 6 8	
1 mart . . . . .	0 10 0
	<hr/>
Total <i>Woyll</i>	2 16 8
57. <i>Keillis</i> —six mark lands.	
The same as No. 55 . . .	8 0 0
Augmentation on Lands in Tiree, 2 marks	1 6 8
	<hr/>
Total money rent and rent in kind, payable to the crown for the above lands in Tiree . . . . .	L.28 3 4

## GENERAL ABSTRACT.

I. Rental of lands in Ross of Mull, payable to the crown by this charter .	L.63 8 7½
II. Rental of other lands in Mull, payable to the crown by this charter . .	21 5 10
III. Rental of the Island of Iona, payable to the crown by this charter . .	22 13 4
IV. Rental of lands in Isla, payable to the crown by this charter . . .	26 15 8
V. Rental of lands in Tiree, payable to the crown by this charter . . .	28 3 4
	<hr/>
Total yearly rent, payable to the crown for all the lands contained in this charter which formerly held of the Abbot of Iona* . . . . .	L.162 6 9½

\* This table of the different *reddenda* of the portion of the Abbey lands included in the charter, the title of which is given above, with their respective values in money, will give some idea of the wealth of the Abbacy of Iona.

NO. III.—OBLIGATION, RODERICK MACLEOD OF THE LEWIS  
TO JOHN CAMPBELL, BISHOP OF THE ISLES,\* 1573.

BE IT KEND till all men be thir presentis, me,  
RORIE M'CLOID OF THE LEWIS, for the kyndnes,  
fauour, and gentres schewin to ws be ane reuer-  
end fader in God, JOHNE BISCHOP OF THE ILIS,†  
commendatour of Icolmekyle and Ardchattane,  
and speciale in the forgeven ws the by-ryne fruc-  
tis of the kirkis and bischop thriddis of Lewis for  
certane zeris bigane, and sindry vther gratitudis  
and fauouris schéwin be the said bischop to ws,  
to be bund and oblist, and be the tenor heirof,  
byndis and oblissis ws and our airis, for ourself  
and for our kyne, freyndis, servandis, adherentis,  
partakeris, and dependeris vpoun ws, to tak plane  
and trew and ane efald part with the said bischop,  
commendatour forsaid, in all his actiones, clames,  
and quarrellis and debattis aganis all deidlie the  
[royall?] auctorite onlie exceptit; and mairattour,  
sall with my haill force and power, inbring and vp-  
lift the said bischoppis forsaidis fructis, rentis,  
and emolumentis and commodities quhatsumewir  
belangand or pertening to the said bischop, be  
quhatsumewir titill or rycht, within the boundis

\* General Register of Deeds, vol. 15, fo. 143. Obliga-  
tion recorded 30th May, 1576.

† John Campbell, paternal uncle to John Campbell of  
Calder, and successor to Bishop Carsewell.

of the Ilis of Scotland, and sall causs his servandis be answerit thair of, and that of the thingis alsweill that he hes presentlie rycht to, as he sall chance to obtene rycht or titill to in tymes cuming; and gif ony man mak stop or impediment, molestatioun, or contradictioun to the said bischop or his chalmerlanis, servandis and factouris, or fail to him in ony sort, sall causs, after my power, the samin be amendit to the said bischoppis contentment, and procur and causs the said bischop be thankfulle payit, and sall mak his L. and his commissioneris and factouris thankfull payment of all thingis awand him within my cuntries, and salbe obedient to his L. and deputis and commissioneris anent all guid ordinances, lawis, and constitutionis and correctionis concerning the kirk, as the actis and constitutionis of the reformat Kirk of Scotland beris, and wes vsit in the last bischoppis tyme.\* And gif I, or ony pertening me, dissobeyis or opponis ourselfis heirto or falsies to the said bischop or his commissioneris, factouris or chalmerlanis, the samin to be amendit at the bischoppis ordour and sycht, and his ministeris and clergie that sall assemble with him for the time: and in cais, as God forbid, I faill to my lord bischop and commendatour foirsaid in the premisses, or in ony principale poynt that

\* That is in the time of Bishop Carsewell.

may be fundine and felt, and amendis not the samin, in that cais I to tyne all promit kyndnes, fauour, and proffeit that I haif of the said bischop in tymes cuming : And for the faythfull obseruing and keping of this my obligatioun, consentis that the samin be registrat and insert in the commisseris buikis of the Sky,\* and the commisseris buikis of Ycolmkill, and the bukis of counsale, and to be promest to kep the samin, and to have the strenth of ane act of the lords of counsale and sessioun, and of the saidis commisseris letteris to pass thairvpon in form as efferis; and to that effect be thir presentis for registratioun and inserting of thir presentis abowrittin in the forsaidis buikis, and, becaus I culd nocht writt myself, I haif causit Rannald Angusoun, persoun of Oig, subscriue this present obligatioun at my command, with my hand led on the pen, the xvj day of Aprile, in ane thousand five hundreth threscoir and threttyn yeiris, befoir thir witnessis, Andro Calder, Jhone Camble, sone and apperand air to Donald Camble of Ycharauchin, Alexander Monro, notor-publict, with vtheris diuers; and als, hes causit the said Alexander Monro, notar, to subscriue the samin in my name, in

\* This branch of the Commissary Records of the Isles, as well as the branch kept at Icolmkill, appears to be amissing. It is to be hoped that ere long some at least of these volumes will be discovered.



maner abonewritten: And for faythfull obedience to the said bischop, and thankfull payment, as Ferquhar bischop and Rorie Bischop gat according to the rentell of the Ilis and contractis maid to the saidis bischoppis, I obliss my airis to my lord bischop now and his successouris, and to that effect constitutis, makis, creatis, and ordanis Mes-teris Richert Strang and Alexander Mauchane, conjunctlie andseverale, my procuratouris, to com-peir befor the lordis and registrat this obligatioun in my name, *promittendo de rato et grato*, &<sup>ca.</sup>, *sub ypotheca*, &<sup>ca.</sup>, befor thir witnessis foir-saidis, day, yeir, and place abonewrittin. (*Sic subscribitur*), I Ronald Anguson, persoun of Wig in Lewis, subscriyvis this present obligatioun at the command of ane honourable man, Roderick M'Cloid of the Lewis, becaus he culd not writt himself, his hand led on the pen: I, Ronald Anguson, persoun of Wig, with my hand, *ad premissa*.

Ita est Alexander Monro, notarius-publicus, requisitus in premissis teste manu propria.

NO. IV.—OBLIGATION, SURETIES FOR JOHN CAMPBELL OF CALDER TO THE BISHOP OF THE ILES,\* 1575.

BE IT KEND till all men be thir present lettres, we, COLEYN CAMPBLE OF BARBREK, Donald

\* Gen. Reg. Deeds, vol. 15, fo. 78. Obligation recorded 27th March, 1576.

Campble of Acherachin, Jhone Campble of Dynstafniche, and Dougall Campble of Ineraw, grantis to haif bundin and oblist ourselfis, our airis, and assignais, souertis, cautioneris, and dettouris respective, ilk ane of ws for our awin partis, viz, Ilk ane of ws for the soume of the hundreth and tuentie merkis vsuale money of Scotland, haifand passage and courss of payment for the tyme, and that for JHONE CAMPBLE OF CALDER, be his causing and command, extending in haill sovm to sextene hundreth merkis, money forsaid, to be payit thankfulle to ane reuerend fader in God, JHONE BISHOP OF THE ILIS, and comendatour of Ardechattane, his aris, executouris, and assigneis, at the daies following, that is to say, aucht hundreth merkis thairof to be payit aucht days immediatlíe preceding the Mertimes, in the yeir of God 1<sup>m</sup> v<sup>c</sup> et sevinte-sex, and the remanent aucht hundreth merkis at Witsonday and Mertimess be equale halfis, promittit be the said Jhone Campble of Calder to the said reuerend fader for the heretable fewis of certane landis of the priorie of Ardechattane, quhilk soyme of sextene hundreth merkis, money forsaid, we byndis and obliss ws, our airis and assignais, to content and pay to the said reuerend fader, his airis and assignais respectiue, ilk ane of us for his awin pairt, at the termes forsaid and maner abonewritten, of our awin proper geir; but fraud, gile, postponitioun,

cavillatioun, or difference quhatsumevir, vnder the pane of periure and infamie, and payment of the said reuerend fader, his airis, executouris, and assignais, of skayth, dampnage, and expensis, as thai sall incur in the craving and obtening of the said sowme, quhill thai be compleitlie payit thair-of:\* And for the mair verificatioun heirof, we haif subscrivit this our present obligatioun with our awin propir handis, sa mony of ws as culd writt, and sa mony of ws as culd not writt, we haif causit the notar vnderwrittin subscribe for ws, AT ARDCHATTANE, the tent day of the moneth of November, anno Domini 1<sup>m</sup> v<sup>c</sup> and sevinte-five yeris, befor thir witnessis, Archbald Campble aperand of the Otter, Jhone Ballych M'Neill v<sup>c</sup> auchyne, Jhone Campble, sone to Donald Campble of Acherauchin, Patrik Makgillecreist v<sup>c</sup> Arthour, Hectour Boydache Makneill v<sup>c</sup> auchin, Schir Jhone Lawmond, vicar of Innerkelane, and Duncane Campble, minister of Ardchattane. (*Sic subscribitur*), Donald Campble of Acherauchin, Jhone Campble of Inuerleuir, Dowgall Campble of Inueraw. Colyne Campble of Barbrek, and Jhone Campble, capitane of Dounstafniche, with our handis at the notaris pen underwritten, becaus we culd not writt.

Ita est Dowgaldus M'Arthour, notarius, in

\* Clause of Registration omitted, being in common form.

testimonium premissorum pro Colino Campble de Barbrek, et Johanni Campble, capitaneo de Dunstafniche, se nescientibus scribere, rogatus et requisitus manu sua.

I Jhone Campble of Calder, byndis and oblissis me, my airis, executouris, and assignais, to relief and kepe skaythless all the souerties and detouris abonewritten, thair airis, executouris, and assignais, at the handis of Jhone Bischof of the Ilis, his airis, executouris, and assignais, anent payment of the said sowme of sextene hundreth merkis, witness my handwritt.

(*Sic subscribitur*), Jhone Campble of Calder.

NO. IV.—OBLIGATION, JAMES MACDONALD OF CASTELL  
CAMES TO THE BISHOP OF THE ISLES, 1575-6.

BE IT KEND till all men be thir present lettres, Me, JAMES M'DONILL GROWEMYCH OF CASTELL CAMMES, sikerlie to be bunden and oblist, and be the tenor of thir presentis lelelie and treulie byndis and oblisses me, my airis, executouris, and assigneis, in the sikerest forme of obligatioun that may be devisit, to ane Reuerend fader in God, JHONE BISCHOP OF THE ILIS and commendatour of Ycolmekyill and Ardechattane, That we sall content, pay, and thankfullie deliuer to the said Reuerend fader, his airis, executouris, or assigneis, all males and deuteis pertening to the said reuerend fader within North Vvest, Slait, and Troter-

nes, that I, or my factouris in my name, tuik vp or intrometit with sen the decess of umquhile Donald M'Donald gorme of Troternes,\* to the tyme of the dait of the partising and deuision maid betwix me and Clane-alespik clerych† of the said Donill M'Donill gormes rowmes and boundis, and in safar as I nor my factouris hes nocht intromettit nor tane vp the said Reuerend faderis males and dewiteis within the boundis foirsaidis betwix the said M'Donill gormes deceiss and the decission foirsaid, we sall give vtheris dettouris thairfor, quha hes tane vp the samin, sua that he may clerlie knaw quhom to creif thairof. But nevertheless byndis and oblissis me, my airis, executouris, and assigneis, to content and pay to the said Reuerend fader, his airis, executouris, or assigneis, all males and dewiteis restand awand to him bayth of kirk and kirklandis, within North Vvest and Slait, sen the tyme of the division foirsaid to this dait, and siclykin tymes cuming, during the minorite of Donald M'Donill,‡ sone and air to the said vmqle Donald M'Donill gorme of Troter-

\* Nephew to the obligant in this bond, being the son of his elder brother.

† A branch of the *Clandonald North*, or Macdonalds of Skye and North Uist, descended from Archibald or Gillespick cleirache, uncle to the obligant in this bond.

‡ Grand nephew and ward of the obligant, James Macdonald of Castle Cames.

nes, and forther, salang as I broik the saidis kirk and kirklandis; that is to say, for the kirklandis and teyndis of Sandy, tuentie bollis beir, of the mett and mesour of Vvest; ffor the landis of Vngenab in Vyist, with the pendiclis and pertinentis thairof, fourtie-aucht *males*\* of beir, of the custome and vse of Vyist; ffor the landis of Kirkebost, aughtene males of grane, tua bollis beir, threttie cubakis quhite cheiss, and ane plaid, yerlie; ffor the landis of Carinche, aucht males and ane mart; ffor the landis of Balnakelie in Illera, sextene males; for the third part of the personage of Kilmorie in Vyist, aughtene males; ffor the third of the fermes of Halskienagallechie, tuentie males grane, and the third part of ane mail; ffor the personage of Kilmoir in Slait, xvij merkis money; and for the bishoppis third part of the said kirk, xvj merkis: And this yerlie, alsweill of yeris bigane as to cum, sen the dait of the partesing and devisioun forsaid, insafar as is vnpeyit, according to the said reuerend faderis rentell, and the payment of the bigannis to be maid ony tyme betwix this and mydsymmer, vpon xv dayis warning. Providing alwayis, that I sall not be haldin, in tymes cuming, to pay for sa mony of the saidis landis as sal happen to be waist and not inhabite in during their being wast throw weir or inuasion

\* This word is believed to be of Scandinavian origin; and to have been, if it is not still, in use in Orkney.



of Inymeis, that I may not stop or lett : and the yerlie payment of the males and dewiteis of the saidis landis and kirks in tyme cuming to be yerlie maid in Ycolmkyll, betwix Petersmess and Beltane ; and forther, gif it happinnis the landis of Trouternes, or any part thairof, cum in my handis, oblisses ws in likmanner to satisfie the said reuerend fader and his factouris of his males and dewiteis within the samin, insafar as I sall haif intromission therwith. Inlykmanner, oblisses me and my airis, executouris, and assigneis, to fulfill to the said reuerend father, his airs, executouris, and assigneis, the obligatioun maid be the said vmquhile Donald M'Donill gorme to the said reuerend father, concerning the inbringing and peying of his dettis that lyis within the said Donaldis boundis, and all pointis and heidis contenit thair intill, insafar as lyis in my handis or power, with the power and force of my self, freyndis, parttakeris, and dependeris vpoun me, as the said Donald M'Donill gorme wes bundin in all pointis contenit in the said obligatioun, of the dait at Dounsceiche the xvj day of Januar, the yeir of God 1<sup>m</sup> v<sup>c</sup> and seventie-tua yeirs. Attour byndis and oblisses me, in manir abone written, to causs my sone Jhone Oig satisfie the said reuerend fader of all skayth sustenit be him throw the breaking of the said reuerend faderis blak boitt, committed by the said Jhone Oig vpoun



the coist of Kyntyir, in the moneth of Merche, the yeir of God 1<sup>m</sup> v<sup>c</sup> seventie-four yeris, throw the taking of hir cabillis and ankris fra hir to the said Jhone Oig and his complices, and that at the said reuerend faderis awin sycht, as I can appoint, and drif thame be bidding and loving, or ellis be the sycht of arbytratouris and freyndis, to be chosyn betwix tham to that effect, howsone the said reuerend fader requiris the samin. And for observing and keeping of all and syndry the premises, sall causs act thameselfis and souerteis, conjunctlie and seuerale, thameselfis and yair airis, in the buikis of our souerane lordis counsale, and in the buikis of the toun of Edinburcht.\* And als byndis and oblisses me and my airis to relief my saidis cautioneris, but hurt, dampnage, or skayth, at the said reuerend faderis handis. And in caiss I faill, that lettres pass at thair instance in my contrair, for thair relivance. And for the suir observatioun and keping of this my present obligatioun, becaus I culd not writt myself, I haif subscrivit this present with my hand on the pen led by the notar vnderwritten at my command, be me speciale requirit thairto, at Edinburgh, the xvij of Marche, the year of God 1<sup>m</sup> v<sup>c</sup> threscour fivetene yeris, befor thir witnesses, Archbald Campble, appeirand of the Otter

\* The clause of Registration, being in common form, has been omitted here.

Donald M'Kynnie of Ostage, Jhone M'Conill M'James, servitour to James M'Conill, and Williame Cuming, notar-publick.

(*Sic subscribitur*), I James M'Conill growmeicht, with my hand at the pen led by W. Cuming notar-publick, be me speciale desirit thairto.

NO. V.—OBLIGATION ANGUS MACDONALD OF DUNDYVEG  
TO THE BISHOP OF THE ISLES,\* 1580.

BE IT KEND till all men be thir present lettres, ws ANGUS M'CONILL OF DONYVAIG, to be bundin and oblist, and, be the tenor of this present obligatioun, byndis and oblisses ws in the maist suir forme of obligatioun, that we sall fortife, mentyne, and defend JHONE BISCHOP OF ILIS, and sall mak him thankfull payment of all by-ryne dewties awand be ws to him, and siclyke sall leif our ballie-depute and our servandis to pay to him; als, sall pas with our forssis throw all the Ilis with him to caus all utheris within the boundis mak him payment, or ellis thair reddiest gudis and geir, insafar as he crauis, conforme to our obligatioun gevin to the said bischop, and subscriuit be ws, the erle of Ergile and the laird of Auchinbrek, our cautioneris, and the sal fulfill the said obligatioun and euerie point contenit thairintill, off the dait the xvij day of Junij, the yeir of God 1<sup>m</sup> v<sup>c</sup>

\* Gen. Reg. of Deeds, vol. 19. obligation recorded 16th June 1581.

lxxix. And siclyke, conforme to our contract and vreittis maid be ws to the said reuerend fader, baith anent kirkis and landis within our said boundis; siclyke we bind and obliss ws in the stratest maner of obligatioun, that quhow sone the said reuerend father chansses be way of law to compryse ony landis or heretageis pretening Lauchlane M'Clayne of Doward, within the boundis of Ilay [or] Kyntir, that we sall delywer to the said reuerend father thankfull payment of the sowmes that he sall compryse the saidis landis [for] at twa or thrie ressonabill termis at the fardest, as we sall agrie with the said reuerend father, and tak of him ane iust infestment of the saidis landis, as men of law can devyse; and quhill the said payement be maid, bindis, and oblisses ws to him in the said comprising, and also oblisses ws to put the saidis landis he comprysses to the greittest availl and proffeitt that the saidis landis hes bene at of beffoir to the said reuerend father and sall fortifie, meintein, and defend him, his airis, and assignais in the possessioun of the samine.\* In witnes heirof, I have subscriyvit this my obligatioun with my hand, at Doneveg, the penult day of Junij, the yeir of God 1<sup>m</sup> v<sup>c</sup> and lxxx yeiris, beffoir thir witnessis, Archibald M' Angus Elych, Alexander Campbell, persoun of

\* Clause of Registration omitted, *ut supra*.

Killychmynewyr, Duncane Campbell, minister of  
Ardchattane, and Patrik M'Arthour.

(*Sic subscribitur*),

Angus M'Donald of Donovaig.

NO. VI.—ACT OF THE LORDS OF COUNCIL AND SESSION, *in*  
*causa* BISHOP OF THE ISLES AGAINST THE ISLESMEN,\*  
1580.

*Tertio Decembris, anno 1580.*

ANENT the sumondis raisit at the instance of ane  
reuerend father in God, JHONNE BISCHOP OF THE  
ILES aganes Gilemane (or Gileinane) M'Neill of  
Baray, Rorie Og, his sone and apeirand air,  
Allane M'Cayne muddort of Allantyre, ———  
M'Conneill M'Nicoll, officiar in Trouternis, Don-  
ald M'Gillasbic cleriche baillie of Trouternes,  
Hutcheoune his brother thair, and Ronnald  
Calvoch thair, Murdo M'Clayne of Lochebowie,  
Angus M'Doneill of Doneveg, Ronald M'Doneill,  
Lauchlane M'Conoquhy officiar in Sker of Quhan-  
ininche,† Ronald M'Conoquhy M'Ane his brother,  
Neill M'Duff[ie], Neill M'Ky of Cherand,‡  
Murdoch M'Duffie of Collinsey, Gillechrist Og  
M'Culeis in Ardnahow, Moir Nene Rannald Moir,

\* Register of Decrees of Council and Session, vol. 82.  
fo. 169.

† This word is doubtful; probably *Skeirkenzie* in Kintyre  
(mentioned in No. I.) is meant.

‡ Perhaps Kilchiaran in Kintyre.

relic of vmqle Allaster Oig M<sup>c</sup>Coneill, Gilleschallum M<sup>c</sup>Gilleschallum of Rasay, Roderic, M<sup>c</sup>Cloid of Lowis, Johne M<sup>c</sup>Ane of Arinamurchan, Lauchlane M<sup>c</sup>Clane of Dowart, Tormond M<sup>c</sup>Cloid of Herreis, Donald M<sup>c</sup>Doneill Gormoche; and all and sindrie tutouris and curatouris of the said Lauchlane M<sup>c</sup>Clayne and Donald M<sup>c</sup>Doneill Gormoch: To heir it be fundin, be decreit of the counsale, that the saidis persones, and ilk ane of thame, hes intromettit with the maillis, fermis, teyndis, and deuties pertenyng and belanging to the landis and kirks pertenyng to the said reuerend father within the bishoprik of Ilis and abbay of Ycolmkill, ilk ane of thame for thair awin pairtis of the cropis and yeiris of God 1<sup>m</sup> v<sup>c</sup> lxxij, lxxijj, and diuerss vtheris yeiris; extending to diuerss availl, quantetie, and prices lyk as at mair lenth is contenit in the saidis summondis, actis, and letters maid thairupoun befor. The said reuerend father compeirand be Mr Alexander Mauchane, his procuratour, and the forsaidis persones, defendaris, being lauchfullie summond to this actioun oftymes callit and nocht compeirit, the lordis of counsale continewis the saidis summondis in the samine forme, force, and effect, as it is now, but prejudice of pairtie vnto the xij day of Aprile nixttocum, with continewatioune of dayis, and ordanes the said reuerend father to haif letteris to summond the witnessis that were

summond of befoir and compeirit nocht, to be summond agane vnder gritar panes; and ma witness, gif he pleisses, for preveing of the poyntis of the saidis summondis agane the said day; and ordanes the deposiciones of witnessis ellis takin in the said mater to be closit quhill the samyne day; and that the partie be warnit of this continewatioune, and to heir the witnessis suorne, and siclik, to compeir personalie befoir the saidis lordis the said day, with continewatioune of dayis, to gif, *juramentum calumpnie* vpoun the haill poyntis and articulis contenit in the saidis summondis; with certeficatioune to thame, and thay failzie, thay salbe haldin *pro confessis*.

NO. VII.—CONTRACT BETWEEN THE BISHOP OF THE ISLES  
AND LAUHLAN MACLEAN OF DOWART,\* 1580.

AT ARDCHATTANE, the aucht day of December, the yeir of God 1<sup>m</sup> v<sup>c</sup> and fourscoir yeiris, it is appoynit, aggreit, and fynalie endit, betwix ane reuerend father in God, JOHNE, BISCHOPE OF ILIS, on that ane part, and LAUHLANE M'CLANE OF DOWART on the vther part, in maner, forme, and effect, as eftir followis—That is to say, the said Lauchlane M'Clane of Dowart takand the burdin on him for his kyn, freyndis, pairttakeris,

\* Gen. Reg. of Deeds, vol. 19. The contract is recorded 26th December, 1580.



and dependeris vpoun him; and alsua, in respect the said Lauchlane being Ballie, sould defend the immoniteis, previleges, and fredomes quhatsueuir grantit to the bischoprik of Ilis and place of Icolmkyle be the kingis of Scotland, sen the first fundatioun of the said place to the day and dait of thir presentis: Thairfor the said Lauchlane to be bundin and oblist, and his airis, to tak plane pouer with the said reuerend fader to assist and mantyne him in all and syndrye his rychtis and actionis, ether presentlie in his hand or yit to cum; and in speciall, in the collecting and in-bringing of the fructis, rentis, and emolumentis pertening to the bischop of the Ilis, abbacie of Ycolmekill, and priourie of Ardquhattane, within the boundis of the Ilis; and the said Lauchlane M'Clane oblisses him to pass with the said reuerend fader with his forssis and bring in the saidis proffettis within sex dayes nixt eftir he be chargit be the said reuerend father thairto, according to his power, sua that the said Lachlane be nocht chergit be the kingis grace or my lord of Ergile seruice in the meyntyme. Attour, the said Lauchlane byndis and oblissis him to causs the said reuerend fader joiss and broik the ile of Ycolmkill, the landis and barony of Rosse, the half of Ballifoill, and the grange of Kilmenie in Ylay, als frelie with all males, dewiteis, setting [and] resing of tenentis, removing and dispossess-



ing of fre halderis, according to the ordour of law, vse and consuetude of Ycolmkill and barony of Rosse, als frelie as ony bischop or abbot broikit the samine, sen the first fundatioun of the said place of Ycolmekill; and sal tak Lauchlane M'Donald M'Conych and his galey of seruice of the saidis landis of Rosse; and sal neuer place ane Stewart-depute vpoun the saidis landis of Rosse induring the said reuerend faderis lifyme; bot onlie the thriddis of courtis, as Ballie, to pertene to the said Lauchlane and his airis: And sall suffer na maner of persoun or personis to oppress the saidis landis of Ycolmekill and Rosse, or tenentis thair of, or trouble or molest thame in ony sort with ather *stenting*, *conyow*, *gerig* seruice, or ony maner of exaction; and except four men out of Rosse onlie, and four men furth of Ecolmekill, to pass and kepe the fortalice of Carnebulg,\* vpoun thair awin expensis, salang as M'Clane is in oisting† to his returning; and in all vther causis, requiris the seruice of the saidis tenentis of Ycolmekill and Rosse, with the haill males, dewiteis, *quert stewart*,‡ conforme

\* A strong fortress in one of the Treshinish Isles, off the north-west coast of Mull.

† *In oisting*, that is attending a host or army under the king or his lieutenant.

‡ Or *quowort*, a particular old duty exacted from the various parcels of lands in the shape of certain portions of meal and cheese. The derivation of the word is uncertain.

to the réntell and teyndis to the said reuerend fader, induring his lyfthyme; and the saidis tenentis to serve him onlie and the place of Ycolmekill, and to be his houshald induring his lifyme. Mairattour, the said Lauchlane, takand the burdin on him as said is, bindis and oblissis him and his airis to causs the haill teyndis of Mull, and all vitheris places within his dominioun, to be thankfullie peyit to the said reuerend fader yerlie, or ellis the hiest prices or availl the saidis teyndis may be estimat to, in quhois handis that evir the saidis teyndis be, except onlie samekle of the saidis teyndis as in the said Lauchlanis awin handis, to be reseruit to himself for payment of the dewiteis usit and wont. And anent the teyndis of Teirey, the said reuerend fader and Lauchlane M'Clane referris to the commowning of Jhone M'Clane, Baillie of Morverne, Jhone Campble of Eriskay, Neill M'Ewin avoych, Donald M'Ewine, and Patrik M'Gilchreist. And, mairattour, sall causs the said reuerend fader be answerit and obeyit, and his commiseris, visitatiouns, spyrituall correctiouns, and pecuniall panis, as ony bischop is obeyit within this realme of Scotland. And anent the haill teyndis of Mull, that ony man clames rycht to, their rychtis to be producit befor the bischop and cheptour of Ycolmekyll, the said Lauchlane M'Clane being present. And alsua the said Lauchlane byndis and oblissis him to

content and pay to the said reuerend fader the soume of ane thousand merkis, in pairt of payment to ane guid compt of the byrun males and dewiteis of the kirklandis, that the said Lauchlane broikis, perteing to the bishopriks of the Ylis and abbacie of Ycolmekyll sent the said bishoppis entrie, quhilk was the day of

of the year of God 1<sup>m</sup> v<sup>c</sup> sevinte tua yeirs: And mairattour byndis and oblissis him to produce his chartour of feu of samony landis as he haldis of the bishopriks of the Ylis and abacie of Ycolmekill, and all rycht he may clame, befor Schir Newyne M<sup>c</sup>Vicar, as commissar of Ergile, and Dougal M<sup>c</sup>Arthour, notar publick, betwixt the day and dait heirop, and the xxviij day of December instant, and sall gif the autentik copy and transumpt thairof to the said reuerend fader, that he may knaw quhat landis he haldis of the said reuerend fader, sic as Duncane M<sup>c</sup>Dougall, fear of Donnoldych, for payment of the soume of ane thousand merkis for the expenssis and renunciatioun of ane decreit, as efter followis, that is to say, thre hundreth merkis thairof at the feist of Sanct Mauenis fair nixt thairefter, and thre hundredth merkis in compleit payment of the said soume of ane thousand merkis at the feist of Candlmess nixt, in the yeir of God 1<sup>m</sup> v<sup>c</sup> and fourscoir yeris. And the said Lauchlane byndis and oblissis him to compeir befor the lordis

of sessioun, and thair, quhatsumeuir securite the saidis lordis can deviss for the said reuerend fader, the said Lauchlane oblissis him to mak and perform the samine betwixt the day and dait of thir presentis, and Beltane nixt heireftir following;—ffor the quhilkis caussis, sua to be done and performit, the said reuerend fader byndis and oblissis him, vpoun the premonitioun of xv dayis, to compeir before the lordis sessioun and counsall, and after the ressait of cautioun and securite for the yerlie payment of the males and dewiteis pertening to the bishopric of Ylis and Ecolmekyll as the saidis lordis of counsall devise, the said reuerend fader sall renunce and simpliciter discharge the decreit obtenit aganis the said Lauchlane M'Clane of Dowart, anentis his fewis, pertening to the Bischoprik of the Ilis and abacie of Ycolmekill, and sall put him in the samine place he was before the obtening of the said decreit, and the said Lachlanis charter to half the samyne forme, force, and effect, as it had befor the obtening of the said decreit; and gif neid beis, the said reuerend fader byndis and oblissis him to pas with the said Lauchlane M'Clane of Dowart, vpoun the said Lauchlanis expenssis, to obtene ane confirmatioun vpoun the chartour gevin be umquhile Maister Jhone Kerswell, sometime Bischop of the Ilis,\*

\* This charter has not yet been discovered, which, however, must have been granted between 1566 and 1572,

and sall fortifie, mentyn, and defend the said Lauchlane in all his honourable and lessum actionis, as appertenis ane bischop to do to the said Lauchlane, as his spirituale sone; and als the said reuerend fader oblissis him, incaiss that the said feu chartour maid be the said vmquhile Maister Jhone Kerswell to the said Lauchlane be nocht fudin sufficient, in that caiss, the said reuerend fader oblissis him to mak, seill, subscriue, and deliver to the said Lauchlane, ane feu chartour, als suir as men of law can devisa, for sic soumes of money as he and the said Lauchlane can agree; and alsua the said reuerend fader byndis and oblissis him to obtene lettres of poinding and horning from the lordis of secreit counsale and sessioun, to warrand and keep skaythles the said Lauchlane, in inbringing to the said reuerend fader the males and dewiteis of the bischoprik of Ylis, and abacie of Ycolmkill: —Attour bayth the saidis pairteis ar content and consentis that thir presentis be extendit in the most large forme, with all claussis necessar, and that the samine be renewit als oft as neid beis, be adviss of men of law. In witness heirof, baith the saidis pairteis hes subscrivit thir presentis with thair handis, day, yeir, and place forsaidis, by Bishop Carsewell, to Hector Maclean of Dowart, Lauchlane's father. A confirmation of this charter, was granted by James VI., in the year 1587.

befoir these witnessis—Jhone M'Lane, Baillie of Morverne, Archibald Campble, apperand of the Otter, Jhone Campble, constable of Dunstafniche, Jhone M'Donell, alias Campble, Patrick M'Carthour, and James Kyncaid, notar public. [*Sic subscribitur*] Jhon Bishop of the Ilis, Lauchlane M'Clane, of Dowart; Jhone M'Clane, as witness, Jhone M'Donald, alias Campble, witness; Jacobus Kincaid, *notarius testis in premissis*.

NO. VIII.—GIFT OF THE ESCHEIT OF SUNDRY ISLESMEN  
TO THE BISHOP OF THE ISLES,\* 1581.

ANE LETTRE maid to JOHNE, BISCHOP OF YLLIS, his airis and assignais, of the GIFT of the eschete of all gudis, moveabill and unmoveabill, &c., that may fall and becum in our soverane lordis handis, quhilkis pertenit to umquhile Donald M'Gillespie Clereiche, baille of Trouternes, Huchone M'Gillespie his bruthir, ——— Maconeill Maknicoll, officar, of Trouternes, Nicoll his brothir, Murdoche M'Clane of Lochbuye, Lauchlane M'Clane of Doward, and James M'Donald Gromiche of Castel Cames; and now pertening, &c., to our soverane lord, &c., be ressoun of escheit, throw being of the saidis persounis, and evirilkane of thame, ordourlie denunceit our said soverane lordis rebellis, and put to the horne, be verteue of lettres in the four-

\* *Registrum Secreti Sigilli*, vol. 48, fo. 29.



formes, purchest at the instance of the said Johne Bischof of Illis, for non-payment of thair farmes, maillis, teindis, and dewiteis, quhillkis thai have in-trometit with *respectivé* pertenyng to the Bishoprik of Illis and Abbacie of Icolmekill and ar pairtis of the patrimony of the samin, and pertening to the said Johne, be verteue of his provision thairof of the croppis and yeir of God 1<sup>m</sup> v<sup>c</sup> lxxv, lxxvi, lxxvii, and lxxviii yeiris, croppis, last bypast, and remanyng at our said soverane lordis horne, be the space of ane yeir with the mair, &c. At Dalkeith, the xxvi day of Julij, the yeir of God forsaid (1581.)

*Per signaturam.*

I<sup>c</sup> merkis.

In concluding my remarks upon this “Court of the Bishop of the Isles,” I venture to suppose that the Bishop, knowing the men he had to deal with, selected Iona for the place of meeting, that the oaths which he took from the islanders might, for more security, be sworn upon the BLACK STONES.

Here occurs a long blank in the history of Iona. The reader may fancy to himself the Spirit of *reformation* for upwards of 200 years—*reforming by law*—carrying away the tomb-stones—the monuments of the mighty—to build huts and enclosures, or perhaps to adorn modern church-yards, where to this day they betray themselves.



In 1566-7, we left Marion Maclean prioress of Iona; and in 1790, we find Mr Allan Maclean, schoolmaster, the only religious instructor! This good man may be said to have been *Abbas Hyensis* for these 50 years past.

In addition to Mr Maclean, Government was pleased some years ago to give Iona a respectable clergyman, Mr Campbell.\* This acquisition she owes, I believe, to the intercession and exertions of the Rev. Dr M'Leod of Campsie,† a lineal descendant of the Norwegian kings, and possessing a *princely* mind. By dwelling upon the amiable—the excellent—the sublime—his soul has taken an impress of them. He, in conjunction with the venerable principal Baird, has done more to *repay* Iona than any one man now alive. Of this fact few, comparatively, are aware, because it is his character to

“Do good by stealth, and blush to find it fame.”

The *fair sex*—last at the cross, and first at the grave—have not been unmindful of the deeds of Iona. In the summer of 1832, the sum of £25 was collected by an English lady, and placed in the hands of the Minister, Mr Campbell, for the establishment of an infant school. It is now begun with every prospect of success. I am also informed that an Edinburgh lady has this summer,

\* Succeeded now by Mr M'Vean.

† Now of St Columba, Glasgow.

collected £27 for the same object. But their school-book, which must be in Gaelic, poor urchins is also in manuscript still! This MS. the author prepared and furnished. The Hymns are chiefly translations. To enable the public to judge whether or not they ought to be printed, he begs leave here to submit a specimen.

URNUIGH PHAISDEAN *Ii!*

Tha sinn cruinn ann ad làthairse  
 Pàisdean lag tlà,  
 Ti'nn a dhiaraidh ort eòlais  
 Ann an òige ar là,  
 O 'Aithair na tròcair  
 D'am buin mòrchuis gun chrìoch,  
 Seall a nuas ann an caoimhneas,  
 Air naoidheanan *Ii!*

Ann an linn Cholum-chille  
 B'e so innis an àigh!  
 Bha e ainmeal an eòlas,  
 Mar tha eòlaich ag ràdh,  
 O 'Athair gach tròcair  
 Ann ad' mhòrachd gun chrìoch,  
 Seall fathast an caoimhneas  
 Air naoidheanan *Ii!*

Ge h-ìosal ar bothan  
 A' measg chnocaibh is ghleann,  
 Bha do Mhac féin air docair  
 'Se gun socair d'a cheann  
 Air a sgà 'san, O! deònaich  
 Ann ad' mhòrachd gun chrìoch  
 Seall fathast an coimhneas  
 Atir naoidheanan *Ii!*

## CHAPTER VII.

IONA VIEWED AS A PLACE OF ROYAL SEPULTURE  
—NAMES OF SCOTTISH KINGS, AND THE MANNER  
OF THEIR DEATH—KINGS OF IRELAND, OF NOR-  
WAY, &c.

THE deep interest of Iona can be felt only amidst the moral sublimity of her ruins. A visit to it has been found by many to be a school for the heart.

“The song has ceased, but its sound is still in our ears.”

Of the race of the Druids we cannot with certainty condescend upon any who reposes here, it being one of the particular tenets of that religion not to commit ought to writing. This we do know, however, namely, that they and the Fingalians have once and again “mixed steel” in the “combat of heroes,” and that “Dargo, the Druid of *Be’ul*, they had sent to the *green isle* where his fathers rest.” This isle, Dr Smith says, “is supposed to be Iona, to which the last remains of the Druids, according to Bishop Pocock, had retired.” Cuthon, or Conn, Dar-

go's son, wishes also, when dying, to be buried in Iona. "My soul," says he, "mounts on the meteor's wing (the *Druï'eug*) to the abode of the brave and good; with my fathers let *my body be placed*: let our rest be together in *the green isle*."

This is proof presumptive at least that Iona was famous as a place of sepulture in the second and third centuries; for, Playfair in his chronology, makes Ossian flourish about A. D. 300, which so far agrees with the Annals of Ulster, which say that Fingal the father of Ossian, was lineally descended from *Niah Neacht*, King of Leinster,—that he was married first to Graine, daughter of Cormac who was proclaimed monarch of Ireland, A. D. 254. Graine having intrigued with Diarmaid an Tuirc, was repudiated by Fingal, who married her sister *Aibhe*, the mother of Ossian.\*

In making mention of the nation of dead who sleep in Iona, I am not prepared to furnish the sceptic with the amount of proof some "wandering tourists" would demand; but I will submit evidence enough to satisfy myself; and my knowledge of the Highlands, and of the Highland character, is *not* that of a "wandering tourist."

"Fierce in their native hardiness of soul—

True to *imagined* right above control."

Pinkerton, a man sufficiently nice with regard to evidence, states—"From the register of St.

\* Walker's Hist. Mem. p. 37.

Andrew's we learn that our kings, from Kenneth III. down to Edgar, 1098, were buried in Hyona." " 'Tis *owned*," says Abercromby, in his *Martial Achievements*, page 6, "that the monastery of Hy, or I-colmkill, was founded about the year 560; that the Scots Kings were buried there, and their records kept there till the reign of Malcolm Canmore." Again, page 94, vol. i.—"Fergus the Second, in the isle of Iona or I-kilmkill, erected religious house, with a *stately* church, where afterwards, his successors were buried, and a library furnished, with many valuable books." Of these honest testimonies I might quote a score; but enow. If this be true, and it receives confirmation from our most ancient writers, the "stately church" must have been for the accommodation of the Druids; for Fergus began his reign in the year 404, more than a century before Columba's arrival. To this epoch I, for my own part, have no objection, for Walker says, that our Fergusia\* were descended from Fergus the son and *Ard Filea*, I believe, of Fingal, who now, in the 4th century, begin to reap the fruits of their departed fathers' fame. This Fergus, the first crowned head that was buried in Iona, was ally to Alaric the Goth, at the sacking of Rome. The blockade of Rome was commenced in 408.

\* The name Fergus signifies, *fear*, a man; and *guth*, a voice.

and in 410 the imperial city, who had been a stranger to fear for 619 years before, was delivered up. Fergus, therefore, had sufficient time to be at Rome: and indeed the character of the “barbarians,” as they were called, furnishes no mean evidence that they were not without Celts amongst them. “They breathed nothing but war—their sword was their right—simple and severe in their manners, they were unacquainted with the *name* of luxury. Inured to exercise and toil, their bodies seemed impervious to disease or pain; they sported with danger, and met death with expressions of joy.”\*

I am now prepared to quote from *Monipennie* the names of some of these Kings, together with the manner of their death and burial. This I must be allowed to compendize, and render into modern orthography, both for ease to myself, and perhaps to the reader.

#### TOMBS OF THE KINGS OF SCOTLAND.†

B. to Reign.

404. Fergus II., who conquered his realm of Scotland of the hands of the Romans and Picts, beginning his reign in the year of Christ 404. He was killed in battle by the Romans, the

\* Robertson's Hist. of Charles V., vol. i. sec. 1.

† The dates in the margin, and those in body of the page, are taken from different historians, which accounts for discrepancies.

16th year of his reign, and buried in Icolmkill.

419. Eugenius II., Fergus' second son. He, with the valiant Graham, gave the Britons and Romans a most desperate battle, in which were killed 15,000 Britons and 4000 Scots. In the seventh year of his reign, Britain was wholly delivered from Roman tribute. Eugenius died in peace in the year 451, and was buried in Icolmkill.
451. Dongard, the brother of Eugenius. A goodly wise, and valiant king. He was killed fighting with Constantine, and was buried in Icolmkill.
479. Congall, or Conul I. He was a great warrior, who sorely vexed the Britons and Saxons. He died in peace, and was buried in Icolmkill.
501. Conran, brother to Congall. He was a good king, and severe *Justiciar*. Certain traitors, however, murdered him in his chamber, the thirty-fourth year of his reign. He was buried in Icolmkill.
549. Eugenius III. He continued in peace all his days; died the twenty-third year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.
558. Congal, or Conal II. A good, just, and godly prince. He instituted many goodly laws, concerning churches and churchmen. He died in peace the eleventh year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill. (This must be the Conal who gave Iona to St. Columba.)



604. Kenneth I. A good king. He died the first year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.
569. Aidan. He was a valiant and good king, and severe *Justiciar*. In his time the Britons and Scots came into Northumberland against the Saxons and Picts, and vanquished them in dangerous battle. The tenth of the spoil was dedicated to the churches of Scotland ; and the banners or ensigns taken were sent to *Icolmkill*. (So also David took the head of the Philistine, and brought it to Jerusalem, together with his armour.)

This Chronology must be nearer the truth than Pinkerton's; for this is the Aidan of whom Cumin, who wrote but sixty years after Columba's death, says—"That being directed by an angel, in a dream, he went to the island of Hyona, or Hy, and there meeting with Aidan, put his hand on his head, and ordained him king."

Aidan died the 35th year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

606. Eugenius IV., Aidan's son, succeeded in the year 606. He reigned peaceably for fifteen years, and was buried in Icolmkill.
632. Donald IV., a good and religious king, holding peace with his neighbours. He being at fishing with his servants for pastime, perished in Lochtay, the fourteenth of his reign ; his body being found, was taken to Icolmkill!
646. Ferchar II., an avaricious tyrant. He was bit

by a wolf in hunting, whereof ensued a dangerous fever. He died in the eighteenth of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

664. Malduin, or Maolduin. A godly and wise king. He was strangled by his *wife* in the night, on suspicion of adultery, the twentieth of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill. His queen and her accomplices were taken next day and burned.
684. Eugene V. A valiant and good king. He obtained a great victory over Edfred, King of Northumberland, who was killed, with 10,000 Saxons. He died the fourth of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.
687. Eugene VI. succeeded. He died in peace, and was buried in Icolmkill.
697. Ambercellach succeeded. He was killed by an arrow-shot the second of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.
698. Eugene VII. A religious and virtuous king, who endowed sundry churches liberally. He died the sixteenth of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.
761. Eugene VIII. A good king, and severe *Justiciar*. He was put to death by Donald Lord of the Isles, and the Earl of Galloway, for assenting to Donald's vices. He himself afterwards degenerated into the most abominable vices, for which he was killed by his nobles; and his familiars and servants were hanged upon gibbets. He was buried in Icolmkill.
763. Fergus III. A lecherous king, for which he was

murdered by his jealous queen, daughter of the King of Picts. She confessed the fact, and then stabbed herself to the heart with a dagger. The body of Fergus was buried in Icolmkill 767.

766. Soluoth, or Solvatus. A pampered lazy king. He died of the gout in the twentieth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.
787. Achia. A great and good king. He married the daughter of Charles the Great (Charlemagne), King of France and Emperor of Germany, who bare him three sons and one daughter. He sent his brother William and sundry nobles to France, with 4000 valiant warriors, to assist his father-in-law in the wars. William prospered greatly, and conquered sundry nations ; so much so, that the Florentines commanded live lions to be nourished yearly upon the public purse, because the *lion rampant* was the armorial ensign of the sons of the hills ! King Achaius being aged, died in peace, and was buried in Icolmkill.
819. Congall, or Conal III. A peaceful king. He died in the fifth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.
824. Dongall ; a brave king. He, preparing a great army to pass against the Picts, perished in a boat as he was crossing the water Tay. His body was found, and buried in Icolmkill.
831. Alpine, Achaius' son. A valiant and good king. Being rightful heir to the crown of Picts, he, in a dangerous and cruel battle, killed Fred-

erick, their king. The Piets, immediately elected the fierce and valiant *Brudus*, who sent ambassadors to Alpine, desiring peace.

Alpine would make no peace. Both armies prepared, and a dreadful battle was fought at the bridge of *Dunkel*, where the Scots were worsted, and King Alpine taken and beheaded. His body was taken to Icolmkill.

834. Kenneth the second, surnamed the Great. He married the Lord of the Isles' daughter, who bare him three sons. He gave battle to the Piets, to their utter extermination; killed their king, with all his nobles, *and sent his sword and coat of armour to Icolmkill* "in perpetual memorie." King Kenneth instituted many good laws, and brought the "fatall chayre" from Argyle, (*i. e.* from *Dun-'s-da-innis*, now Dunstaffnage) to Scone. (No favourable specimen of the *goodness* of his laws, in my humble opinion!) He died the twentieth of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

854. Donald V. A vicious and odious king. He was taken by his nobles, and imprisoned, where he killed himself. He was buried in Icolmkill.

858. Constantine II. A valiant king. He married the daughter of the Prince of Wales who bare him two sons and one daughter. In his time, Hungar and Hubba, with a great fleet of Danes, landed in Fife, and used great cruelties. Constantine came with a great army

against Hubba, and vanquished him. The Scots being proud of this victory, and neglecting themselves, there followed another desperate battle. At last the Scots were vanquished, and Constantine with his nobles and 10,000 of his army, killed, the fifteenth of his reign. He was buried in Icolmkill.

874. Ethus, surnamed the Swift. A luxurious and uxorious prince. Being imprisoned by his nobles, he died the third day of melancholy, having reigned three years. He was buried in Icolmkill.

876. Gregory, or Grig. A valiant and greatly renowned prince. He ordained that all kings, his successors, should, at their coronation, make oath to defend the Christain religion. He made great conquests, both in England and Ireland, and built the city of Aberdeen. He died in 892, and was buried in Icolmkill.

892. Donald VI. A very good king. He died in peace, the eleventh year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

903. Constantine III. A valiant prince, but not fortunate in wars. He became a *canon* in St. Andrew's, where he died, the fortieth of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

938. Milcolm, or Maol-Callum I. A noble king. He was traitorously murdered, the ninth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

958. Indulf. A royal warrior. He vanquished in battle Hagan, Prince of Norway, and Xckelr Prince of Denmark, but was himself killed

by stratagem of war, the ninth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

968. Duffus, or M'Duff. He was basely murdered by Donald, captain of Forres, and was buried in Icolmkill.

973. Kenneth III. A severe *Justiciar*. He caused 500 notable thieves to be hanged on gibbets —(that was *one* notable act.) The Danes, with a great fleet of ships, arrived at the mouth of Tay, and destroyed the town of Montrose, killing all the people, and demolishing the walls!—Kenneth, with a great army, marched to oppose their progress, when there ensued a dreadful battle, and victory for a long while hung in even scales. At last one *Hay*, with his two sons, rallied the Scots, and by their valour and courage renewed the battle. The Danes were vanquished, and a great number slain. The king rewarded Hay and his two sons, by giving them a great part of the spoil of the Danes, with as much land as a falcon off a man's hand flew over, which was about six miles in length, and four in breadth. Kenneth afterwards, from avarice, killed by poison, Malcolm, prince of Scotland; which act was ultimately the cause of his own death. He was buried in Icolmkill.

994. Constantine IV. He was killed in battle at the town of Crawmond, the second of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

996 Grimus, Duff's son. A vicious usurper. He was

killed in battle by Malcolm, and was buried in Icolmkill.

1004 Mil, or Maol-Colum II. A valiant and wise king. He was killed by conspiracy, and buried in Icolmkill.

1034 Duncan I. He was traitorously killed by Macbeth, the sixth of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.\*

1040 Macbeth. A valiant prince, and severe *Justiciar*; but at last, by illusion of witches and sorcerers, he became a cruel tyrant. He was vanquished by Malcolm *Ceann Mor*, and killed by M'Duff, Earl of Fife. His body was taken to Icolmkill, and there buried.

Hitherto the Gaelic was the universal language of Scotland—even of the Court. But after Macbeth, *Maol-Callum-Cean Mòr* having fallen in love with, and married Margaret, sister to young Edgar, King of the English, from love and courtesy to her, thought of making the English the language of the Court, and the royal sepulture, Dunfermline!—(“In *loving* thou do'st well, in *passion* not.”)—Upon these Celtic heroes, I cannot help making one reflection, namely, that they were *men*, and led their bonneted tribes *like* men; whereas, of some of the nations at this day, we

\* “Where is Duncan's body?”

M'DUFF—“Carried to Colme's kill:

The sacred storehouse of his predecessors,

And guardian of their bones.”—*Shakspeare*.



may say with Isaiah, “As for my people, *women* rule over them.”

*The Tomb of the Kings of IRELAND.*

765 Beatus Nial, King of Ireland, who had abdicated his kingdom, and had been for eight years in Iona, died.—*Ulst. Annals.*

786 B. Artgall M‘Catheld, King of Connaught, who had abdicated, died in pilgrimage at Hyona.—*Ibid.\**

To seek out the names of the other Irish kings that were buried in Iona, I do not judge of indispensable moment, and therefore proceed to

*The Tomb of the Kings of NORROWAY, that is, of the NORWEGIAN RACE, in IRELAND and the ISLES.*

980 Amluabh or Aulay, son of Sitrick, Prince of the Normen of Dublin, after his defeat in the battle of Tarah, took refuge in *Iona*, where he died.—*Ulst. Ann.*

1187 On the 4th of the ides of November, Godred, King of the Isles, departed this life; and *the summer following*, his body was conveyed to the island of Hy!—*Cron. of Man.*

\* Lord Buchan speaks of “long stones which seemed to have had long inscriptions;”—one of them has on its edge, says he, the following antique inscription in the British character:—Cormac Uufhadda, hic est situs: *i. e.* Cormac Barbatus, or Long-bearded, lies here. Cormac M‘Aird, one of the kings of Ireland, who, according to Dr Keating in his *Notitia Hybernica*, was buried here.—*Trans. Antiq. Scot.*

1228 About this time Olave, surnamed the Black, brother to Reginald, late king of Man and the Isles, went to the King of Norway : but before his arrival, Haco, King of Norway, had appointed a certain nobleman, called Huspac, (believed at this time to be the son of Owmund, but who afterwards turned out to be a grandson of *Somerled* by his son *Dougal*,) to be king of the Sodorian islands (the Hebrides and Man), and named him Haco. This Haco, accompanied with Olave, Godred Don, the son of Reginald, and many Norwegians, came to the isles ; but in taking a certain castle, in the isle of Boot (Bute), Haco-Uspac was killed with a stone, and buried in *Iona*.—*Ibid.* & *Anecdotes of Olave the Black*.

“ About 70 feet south of the chapel is a red unpolished stone, beneath which lies a king of France.” Of this king, as we know not who he was, we may with the poet say,—

“ How loved, how valued once, avails thee not ;  
To whom related, or by whom begot :—  
A heap of dust alone remains of thee :  
’Tis all thou *art*—and all the proud *shall be* !”

I shall now proceed to give the names of a few of the Chiefs and Chieftains, whose lives were fully as chivalrous and romantic as those of their kings.

*They* were the spirit of night, which carries

the collected blast of heaven in his fist when he intends to pour it on the groves of Morven. The oaks hear its sound at a distance, and, trembling for its approach, already shake their leaves.

## CHAPTER VIII.

BRIEF SKETCHES OF THE CHIEFS AND CHIEFTAINS  
BURIED IN IONA.

To speak in *detail* of *all* the Chiefs and Chieftains whose remains slumber in Iona, would inevitably lead to something like a *history of the Clans*. I shall therefore content myself with merely giving the *root* of each. Dean Munro, already quoted, says,—

“Within this sanctuarie also lye the maist pairt of the Lords of the Isles, with ther lynage.”

*Tomb of the Lords of the Isles.*

Of this renowned clan it is unnecessary for me to say any thing. The grandeur and antiquity of MACDONALD has been already fully recorded. His succession in a direct male line for twenty-one generations is deduced in Douglas's peerage, page 357. Macdonald has enjoyed not only the highest titles and dignities of which subjects of olden times were capable, but even that of *King of the Isles* ; and was often treated as such by Kings of England and France, and sometimes by Kings of Scotland, *nolens volens*.

Donald, Lord of the Isles, raised in 1411, in his own isles, 10,000 men, at the head of whom he gave no cold reception to the Earl of Mar, at Harlaw. Of the martial achievements of this clan, indeed, we have several records, so far back as a century before the nativity of Christ. *Colla Bhuathais, Gille-Bride, Somhairle, Donald*, and a thousand more, are names well known in history.

'Smairg nàmhaid d'an nochd iad, "*fraoch,  
Long, Leomhann, craobh, 's lamh-dhearg!*"

*Tomb of the Macleans.\**

"A Maclean of Coll appears in armour, with a sword in his left hand. A Maclean of Duairt, with armour, shield, and two-handed sword. And a third of the same name, of the family of Lochbuy; *his* right hand grasps a pistol, his left a sword."—*Pennant*.

*Gillean* and *Cailean*, two brothers, landed in Mull. *Gillean* soon found grace in the eyes of *Macdonald*, King of the Isles. We find him, at the head of his dependents, at the battle of Largs, under King Alexander III., the battle which extirpated the Danes, *Haco* being defeated with an army of 20,000 ! *Gillise Macilleon*, *i. e.* the son of *Leon* (abbreviated *Mac'lean*), fought at *Bannockburn*, under *Bruee*. *Eachan ruadh nan cath*, son

\* The name *Maclean* is metaphorical. It means the Son of a Lion. The History of this clan is just published.

of Lachlan Lùbanach, son of Iain Dubh, son of Gillecolum, son of Gillise, son of Gillean, commanded as Lieutenant-general, under the Earl of Ross, at the battle of Harlaw in 1411. Hector, the 9th of Duairt, at the head of his clan, accompanied King James IV. to the fatal field of Flodden, where he sacrificed his own life to save that of his royal master.

What shall I say ? Time would fail me to tell of *Lachin Bronnach*, *Eachan Ruadh's* son ; of *Iain Garbh*, son of *Lachin Bronnach* ; and of a countless number of Hectors and Lachlans, down to Hector the sixteenth generation, who distinguished himself at the wild battle of Inver Keithing.\*

### *The Tomb of Maclean of Coll.*

“A Maclean of Coll appears in armour, with a sword in his left hand,” &c.—*Pennant*. Of the warriors who rest here, I need only inform the visitor, that they were descended from *Iain Garbh*, son of *Lachin Bronnach* of Duart ; the seventh generation in a direct male line. † Their

\* “Thuit Eachunn Ruadh ann an Inbher Chéitein,  
Le 'sheachd ceud déug d'a threun thuil dhirich.”

*Ian MacAlein.*

† “Tighearna Chòl' tha mi 'g rà'tin,  
Eoghan Og, is chan àicheam dhuibh ainm ;  
Sar Leathanach prìseil,  
De na h-uaislean a chinn o Iain Garbh.”

*J. Macilleòn.*

souls were not the little souls that, like a vapour, hover round the marshy lake, which fears to ascend the green hill lest the winds meet it there. They were the stream of many tides against their country's foes, but like the gale that moves the grass to those who asked their aid.

*The Tomb of Maclean of Lochbuy.*

“A third of the same name, of the family of Lochbuy; his right hand grasps a pistol, his left a sword.”—*Pennant*.

This *ceatharnach*, most conspicuous *in death*, was still more so in life. What Highlander that does not know the life of *Eoghan-a-chinn bhig*! I may not, however, condescend upon particulars. Let it suffice to inform the traveller, that the warriors who repose here were from *Eachunn Regannach*, son of *Iain Dubh*, the fourth generation from *Gilleán*, and brother to *Lachin Lubanach*, of whom the Duairt family, already described, are descended. In war they were also distinguished. Their own bards represent them in battle as, “growing in their place like a flood in a narrow vale;” or, “a whale whom all his billows follow.”

Iona continued to be the sepulture of the Macleans till a very recent epoch. Their bards, even in the 18th century, make it a matter of regret when any of their chiefs missed being interred here: *e.g.*



“ Gur a goirt leam r’a chluinntinn,  
 Nach tug sibh ’ur n’ ionndrainn  
 Do dh’ *Ii* mar ri ’mhuinntir,” &c.

*Gaoir nam ban Muileach.*

Thus, likewise another bewails,—

“ Nach tug iad do dh’ *Ii* thu,  
 Mar ri sìnn’s ’reachd do shean’a’r.”—*M. ni’ Lachin.*

*Mackinnon’s and Macquarie’s Tomb.*

“ Within this sanctuary also lye the maist pairt of the Lords of the Isles, with ther lynage. Twa Clan Leans, with ther lynage: *M’Kinnon* & *M’Guarie*, with ther lynage,” &c.—*Dean Munro.*

Traveller! to give you the root of those who enrich the dust of this tomb, I shall require to bespeak your patience. The Mackinnons and the Macquaries are the same race. They are both of the Alpinian family, who, from 834 till the death of Alexander III., 1285, swayed the Scottish sceptre. Kenneth the Great, the 69th king, took the patronymic of Kenneth MacAlpine from his brave but murdered father. King Alpin’s third son was called Prince Gregor, the head of that clan. Prince Gregor had a son called *Donn-Gheal*, latinized Dongallus, who in his turn had a son called *Findan*, or *Fingon*; and this is the root of that princely tribe the Macfingans, or Mackinnons. James M’Gregor of that ilk, entered into a bond of friendship with L. Mackinnon, anno 1571, whereby they, “as

descended of two brothers of auld descent," bound themselves, by their oaths and subscriptions, to be perpetual friends to each other, "under all hazard of disgrace and infamy." A verbatim copy of the bond may be seen in Douglas Baronage, p. 497.\*

Macquarie takes his patronymic from *Ogha*, a grandson, and *Righ*, a king. Allan, the third generation of this surname, was cotemporary with *Gillean*, and fought under King Alexander III. at the memorable battle of Largs. The tomb of the *Righrean Alpineach* is well known in Iona; and, as being the fathers of the royal families of Bruce, Baliol, and Stewart, and also of the Macgregors, the Mackinnons, Grants, Macnabs, &c., the visitor may indulge in very profitable reflection.

"Their sword was a meteor of heaven—In peace, like the sun when he looks through a silent shower."

### *Mackenzie's Tomb.*

"On the other side is the tomb and figure of Abbot Kenneth;—on the floor is the effigy of an armed knight," &c.—*Pennant*.

\* Douglas was in error as to the true date of this bond, which I am informed was in 1671, just a century later than the date assigned by Douglas.

This seems the proper place to mention, what I have just been informed of, that in the year 1606, the chiefs of Mackinnon and Macnab entered into a similar league, and on the same ground of mutual descent from one individual.

This armed knight represents Mackenzie of Kintail, of whom I need only say, that he was descended from Kenneth, son of Colin, which Colin was brother to *Gillean*, and son of the Earl of Kildare, now Duke of Leinster. *Ceanntail*, the family possession in the north, was given by King Alexander to Colin, for his services in the battle of Largs. This tomb the traveller may view with a degree of apathy; but the mighty dead are not unknown in song—

“ ‘S cinnteach mi d’ar coinneachadh  
 MacCoinnich mòr Chinn-tail ;  
 Fir làidir, dhàna, shomailteach,  
 De’n fhìor-chruaidh air a’ foinneachadh, &c.”  
 A. M’D.

### *Macleod’s Tomb.*

“ On the floor is the figure of an armed knight, curiously ornamented, and close to it was *the burying place of M’Leod of M’Leod.*”—*Steamboat Comp.* p. 175.

To find Iona the place of sepulture of Chiefs, who lived, and who, it may be presumed, died also at so great a distance from it, is, of itself, enough to make it a most interesting island. It is now universally acknowledged, that the M’Leods of Scotland were scions of the Norwegian Kings of Man.

Godred Croven, son of Harold the Black, of the royal family, being appointed sovereign of

Man and the Western Isles by King Harold the Imperious, came with a fleet and took possession of this kingdom, *anno* 1066, but the superiority still remained with the Kings of Norway. Godfred left three sons, *Lagman*, *Harold*, and *Olave*, or *Amlave*. This Olave, surnamed the Red, we find king in 1102. He had a daughter who married *Somhairle MacGillebhride*, Thane of Argyle, and ancestor of the Macdonalds. Thus things went on, one reigning, another dying, till King Alexander III., with the fierce clans, hurried the Danes out of Caledonia at least. King Olave IV., I think, had, by his third marriage, a son called *Leoid*, of whom *Macleoid*.\* This Leoid flourished in the time of the said King Alexander III., and got from Paul, Sheriff of Sky, the land of Herries, &c., and from his maternal grandfather, the Earl of Ross, a part of the barony of Glenelg. He married the daughter of a Danish knight, by whom he got many lands, and two sons, *Tormaid* and *Torcul*, the one progenitor of Macleod of Herries, Dunvegan and Glenelg; the other pro-

\* I am informed that there is no authority in the Chronicle of Man for this descent of the Macleods, nor does the name *Leoid* occur in this Chronicle at all,—and that it is much more probable this clan derives its origin from the ancient *Jarls* of Orkney, who frequently effected settlements in the Northern Hebrides, and in whose family *Leoid* or *Liod* was a common proper name.

genitor of Macleod of Lewis, Assint and Cogach. These two families were ever independent of each other; but since the ruin of the house of Lewis in the reign of James VI., the other house has been styled Macleods *of Macleod*. Lewis is represented by Macleod, or rather *Macgillechallum* of Rasay. Their biography would be long. The Highlander who loves “the light of song” must know a great deal of it,\* and must also know that to this day they and the Macleans have been continually crossing the breed.—*Gu’n cinneadh leò*.

### *The Tomb of the Saints.*

The first of *the order of Columba* who received a tomb in Iona, was *Oran*. After him that awful spot *Releig Orain* is called. The next, for ought I can find, was Columba himself. Lord Buchan informs us that King Aidan, who was pupil to Columba, caused his remains to be interred in the *royal burying-ground*.†

The life of Columba has been given by many hands, yet the plan of this little book demands a brief sketch of it here.

In the character of Columba, talents, learning,

\* “ Na Leodaich am pòr glan  
 Cha b’fhòlach ’ur sìol,  
 Dream *Rioghail* gun fhòtu  
 Nan Gòrsaid, ’s nan Sgiath,” &c.—*Iain Dubh*.  
 † Trans. Antiq. Soc. Vide “Iona.”

and a constant application to study, make a very conspicuous figure; but a still more striking part of it is an early, uniform, and strong spirit of piety. Far from resting in any measure of sanctity, he incessantly laboured and longed after higher and higher degrees of it.

Columba, well aware of the importance of early piety, paid particular attention to the young: Hence, when the Saint makes his appearance, the little children rejoice to see him, and run to meet him to receive his benediction. If only the elder children of the family should be presented to him, he would say:—"Have you not some that are younger than these?" They are all sent for, and little *Eachan Bui*, (Fair-haired Hector,) says Adamnan, when he saw the Saint, ran up to him, and laid his head on his bosom.

Peace, a necessary fruit of the spirit, was a remarkable feature in the life of Columba. At the great council of *Drimceat*, the succession to the throne was left to his arbitration; and when neither clergy nor king could settle a difference between the two sons of *Lugid Lamhdearg*, they came with a numerous train from Ireland to Iona, where Columba reconciled them, and saved Ireland from a civil war.\*

Columba, like every one who lives under a

\* Ulster Annals, 574; et Colgan Vit. 5.

sense of the presence of a *righteous* God, was always faithful. Aoidh, King of Ireland, asked him once, whether he thought *he* should be saved? "You have little chance for that," said Columba, "unless you expiate the errors of your past life, by a speedy and sincere turning to God."\* He also, at the risk of his life, excommunicated some of the nobility of the kingdom, *e. g.* the sons of Connel. When any offended himself, he forgave him; when any offended God, he prayed for him.†

Tenderness to the poor was not wanting in the character of Columba. On a certain winter day, which was excessively cold, he was observed to be in great distress, and even to weep like a child. His servant Dermot took the liberty to ask the cause, and got the following answer: "It is not without reason, my child, that I am sad: my monks at *Durrough* are, at this inclement season, sadly oppressed by Lasrain, who keeps them at hard labour."‡ His compassion extended indeed to the very brute creation. A heron had one day ventured a flight from some of the remote islands to Iona: by the time it reached the shore, it was so far exhausted, that it alighted in the water. Columba ordered one of his monks to its succour. "Bring it," says he, "to the nearest house; feed it, and take all the care you

\* Colgan Vit. 5ta.      † Adam. 3. 16.      ‡ Adam. 1. 29.



can of it for three days, till it recover its strength, and be able to cross the sea again.”\* But I must desist;—the fruit of the tree is the best comment upon its quality, and the fruit of Columba’s life has for many ages, afforded a harvest of glory for anxious angels to reap.

To mention *all* who followed these would be far too tedious: the traveller may revert to the *Chronicle of events* already given.

Traveller! we shall not certainly quit this famous *Golgotha* without rumination—without self-examination! Here may be read, in very large characters,—the evil of sin,—the nothingness of terrestrial glory,—the certain end of all flesh! Here, too, may be read, but *dimly*, how wise it is to look forward to a Day of Judgment, when the trump of God shall shake, nay rend creation, and ten thousand ages of spirits come to join their rising bodies in order to begin an age eternal!

Farewell, Iona! Sure the genius of religion hovers still over thy awful tombs!

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#### INCH, OR PROPERLY *INNIS KENNETH*.

This island I consider virtually part and parcel of Iona. To overlook it, therefore, would be

\* Pinkerton in Adam. l. 49.

doing injustice to the antiquary and the man of feeling. "Romance," says Dr Johnson, "does not often exhibit a scene that strikes the imagination more than this little desert, in these depths of western obscurity."—*Journey*.

"Inch Kenneth," says Dr M'Culloch, "has a claim on the notice of every one who visits this country. The ruins of Sir Allan Maclean's house, with the chapel, the cross, and the tombs, are still to be seen."—*Vol. I. p. 527*.

Innis Kenneth was for centuries a seminary, subordinate on Iona. The histories of the two islands are indeed inseparable. Here, as well as in Iona, are entombed saints and chieftains, especially of the royal race of Alpin. "The chapel here is about sixty feet in length, and thirty in breadth. On one side of the altar is a bas-relief of the blessed Virgin, and behind it lies a little bell, which, though cracked, and without a clapper, has remained there for ages, guarded only by the venerableness of the place. The ground round the chapel is covered with gravestones of Chiefs and Ladies, and still continues to be a place of sepulture."—*Johnson*.

Although Innis Kenneth had had no college in it, Dr Johnson's account of his reception were enough to make it classic ground. So much delighted was he here, that, as the reader may recollect, he composed a Latin poem upon the

occasion. Of this poem, I got, before I had conceived the thought of writing these pages at all, a free *translation*, from the polite and most accomplished late Sir D. K. Sandford. I think I may use the freedom to submit it to the reader, without the ceremony of asking liberty of that giant of liberty. But in order to the better understanding of it, I may first refresh the reader's memory, in the Doctor's own words:—"The island's only inhabitants were Sir Allan Maclean, and two young ladies, his daughters, with their servants." And again, a little farther on:—"In the afternoon, Sir Allan reminded us that the day was Sunday, which he never suffered to pass without some religious distinction, and invited us to partake in his acts of domestic worship; which, I hope, neither Mr Boswell nor myself will be suspected of a disposition to refuse. *The elder of the ladies read the English service.*" This paves the way for the poem.

"GLASGOW COLLEGE, Jan. 29, 1833.

"SIR,—I am not quite sure, from the terms of your letter, whether you wish the lines by Johnson, to which you call my attention, and which are to be found in Boswell's Journal of the Tour to the Hebrides, to be translated by me into prose or verse. Perhaps the best way is to give you a version in each.

*Insula Sancti Kennethi.*

*Parva quidem regio, sed religione priorum  
Nota, Caledoniæ panditur inter aquas, &c., &c.*

## INCH KENNETH.

### PROSE.

‘ A spot, small indeed, but famous for the piety of its former inhabitants, appears amid the Scottish waves; where Kenneth is said to have reclaimed by his voice fierce tribes, and to have untaught them the worship of false gods. Hither borne over the green seas with gentle course, I desired to learn the novelties of the place. There Maclean reigned in a lowly shed—Maclean, ennobled by great ancestors. One cottage contained, together with their father, two maidens, whom love might fancy goddesses of the waters: Yet did not they lurk, an uncultured race, in chill caverns, such as the savage dweller on the Danube possesses. There were not wanting the soft solaces of a leisurely life—whether books or the lyre. That day hath dawned, which those who are instructed in the law of Heaven, bid human hopes and cares flee far from them. Amid the murmurs of Ocean, the offices of sacred worship ceased not to be observed; here also piety has met with observance. What although a woman turned the pages of the Book of the Priest!—’Tis the pure breast that makes prayers legiti-

mate. Whither do I wander further? That which is everywhere sought for is here;—here is safe repose—here, too, is honourable love.

“ I will now endeavour to versify it.

‘ Scarce spied amid the West-sea foam,  
Yet once Religion’s chosen home,  
Appears the isle, whose savage race,  
By Kenneth’s voice, was won to grace.  
O’er glassy tides I thither flew,  
The wonders of the spot to view.  
In lowly cottage, great Maclean  
Held there his high ancestral reign,  
With daughters fair, whom love might deem  
The Naiads of the Ocean-stream :  
Yet not in chilly cavern rude,  
Were they, like Danube’s lawless brood ;  
But all that charms a polish’d age,  
The tuneful lyre, the learned page,  
Combin’d to beautify and bless  
That life of ease and loneliness.  
Now dawn’d the day, whose holy light  
Puts human hopes and cares to flight ;  
Nor ’mid the hoarse waves’ circling swell  
Did worship here forget to dwell.  
What though beneath a woman’s hand  
The sacred volume’s leaves expand,  
No need of priestly sanction there—  
The sinless heart makes holy prayer !  
Then wherefore further seek to rove,  
While here is all our hearts approve,—  
Repose, security, and love ?’

“ D. K. SANDFORD.’

This amiable chief, Sir Allan, is buried in

Innis Kenneth. The thought of the great English moralist joining the Highland Chieftain in the praises of God, in this sequestered little island, and the "harpsichord," is indeed *a romantic thought*.

*P. Muir. Greenock*  
*1840*

THE END.

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" Sheep have golden feet, and wherever the print of them appears the soil is turned into gold."—SWEDISH PROVERB.

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